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XXII. *Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Wing, in the county of Buckingham. In a Letter addressed by FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq., Treasurer S.A., to JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., Vice-President.*

Read 10th May, 1855.

MY DEAR MR. COLLIER,

THE parish of Wing, from the accounts of which I purpose to make some extracts, is situated on an elevated ridge overlooking the Vale of Aylesbury; distant some three miles from Leighton Buzzard, nine from Aylesbury, and about the same distance from Tring.

The parish is extensive, containing about six thousand acres, and besides the village of Wing it comprises the hamlets of Ascot, Crafton, and Burcot.

There was a priory at Wing, on the site of which Ascot House was afterwards built. It is not my object to enter into the early history of the parish, and it may be sufficient here to state that the manor and advowson came to the Crown on the death of Alice Barnard, Prioress of the Convent of St. Mary de Pré, or de pratis, in the county of Hertford; that in the 20th Henry VIII. it was granted to Cardinal Wolsey, towards the endowment of his intended Cardinal College, but this grant was resumed, and in the 35th Henry VIII. the manor and advowson were granted to Sir Robert Dormer. It would seem, however, that the Dormer family had for some time previous to this grant been resident at Wing, probably as lessees of the manor. From the Dormers the manor and advowson passed to the Stanhopes, and from them to the present owner Lord Overstone. The church is interesting, and in parts very ancient. It has recently been restored under the superintendence of G. G. Scott, Esq. There are several fine monuments of the Dormer family, and the parish registers record numerous births, marriages, and deaths of that family, and of those connected with it.

The parish is perhaps best known by the old rhyme:—

Tring, Wing, and Ivinghoe
Hampden did forego
For striking the Black Prince a blow.

Whatever may have been the origin of these lines, there is no evidence that either of the places in question ever belonged to the family of Hampden.

There is another local rhyme, in which the same three places are joined together in a manner the reverse of complimentary:—

Tring, Wing, and Ivinghoe,
Three dirty villages all in a row.

I am bound to add that, at least in the present day, this imputation is unfounded.

That Wing was formerly a place of more importance than it is now, may, I think, be collected from these accounts; the influence of the Dormer family, then as now attached to the Church of Rome, gave splendour to the church, which it will be observed had five “lights,” and possessed a goodly store of ornaments, and so early as 1538 it had an organ. That influence rendered the people unwilling to pull down, on the accession of Elizabeth, the altars which they had eagerly set up when Mary succeeded to the Crown.

The changes of religion are curiously marked during the successive reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, beyond which I have not thought it right to carry my extracts. The customs prevailing with respect to the “Hock ale,” and “Maye ale,” are also worthy of remark, especially the order, made in 1565, regulating the election of the Lord and Lady at Whitsuntide, and imposing fines on those who should refuse to accept the proffered honour.

On the whole, dry and generally uninteresting as churchwardens' accounts must be, I would hope that some of the extracts subsequently given may not be considered unworthy the attention of the Society.

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,

FREDERIC OUVRY.

EXTRACTS from the CHURCHWARDENS' ACCOUNTS of the PARISH of WING, in
the COUNTY of BUCKINGHAM.

1527.

Fol. 1.

The Lyg(ht)men.

- M^d. that Wylzame Hawys, Wylzame Gefes, lyghtmen too the Rudde lyght, haith remanynge in their handes, all thynges dyschargyde vi s. vi d.
- Ii. Rycharde Dygger and Henry Nycoles, lyghtmen to Sancte Kateryns and Sancte Margarett lyghtes, haith remanynge in there handes, all thynges dyschargyde xx s. xi d.
- Ii. Roberte ffontans^a Thoñs Buckmaister, lyghtmen too Sancte Thomas and Mary Magdaleyns, haith remanynge in their handes, all thynges alowyde xi s.
- Ii. Nycoles Lucas and Joñne Lewys, lyghtmen too our Ladys lyght, haith remanyng in their handes, all thynges alowyde, a quarter off malte, too bushels off barley, and in redy money xv s. iii d.
- Ii. Thoñs Wynchester and Nicoles ffontans, torchemen, haith maide theyr accountes for too yers paiste of their houghtayls, and haith remanyng in handes, all thynges alowyde xxix s. viii d.
- Sñi totale that the lyghtemene haith remanynge in ther handes, all thynges dyschargyde, is iiii li. iii s. iiii d.

- M^d that theys be the ornamentes off the peryche churche of Wyng An^o Dñi m^od^oxxvii^o die vero mensis Junii, vigesimo secundo.
- In primis. Fyve chaleyces off sylvyr, too thorow gylde and thre percell gylde.
- Ii. too pyxys, one sylver ungyldde, and the other copper and gylde, somtyme off the gyveytt off Joane ffontans.
- Ii. one pax, sylver and gylte, and too olde paxys.
- Ii. one sylver sensours ungyldde savyng the towars and pennacklyes off the same, wyth other ceyrtayne places.
- Ii. too crossys cooper and gylte, and other too olde crossys.
- Ii. thre crosse stayeys, one copper and gylte and too off woode.
- Ii. thre crosse cloythys, one off greane sarsneytt, and too olde.

^a The family of Fountain still exists in the neighbourhood. In the church there was formerly an inscription to the following effect : viz., " Pray for the soules of John Fountayne and Margaret, which John ordered this stone, in the yere of oure Lord God 1515. On whose soul J'hu have mercy." Buckmaster is also now a common name in the vicinity.

- Fol. 1. Ii. syx banner clothys, and foure streyners and eyght pools too the same.
 Ii. too canopy kyrehevys, one of needle worke, and the other off lawne.
 Ii. a elothe for the canopy off saytteyn, the coler off vyolett, wyth foore stavys
 unto the same.
 Ii. too cooppys, one of blew welveytt [another of wyte^a], and other course cooppe.
 Ii. too hangynges, one off blew for the hye alter, and another off wheytt fustyan
 for oure Ladys alter.
 Ii. a borthor off Clothe off Goolde for the hey alter off the gyvytt off Syr
 Radulphe Werney.^b
 Ii. a paylle for the sepulcher off brauncheyde worke.
 Ii. a gyrdeyll of neidlle worke, for the Sepulcher.
 Ii. foore corpraxys, and foore caysys too the same.
 Ii. too qwheyshynges for the alters.
 Ii. threttyene alter clothys, good and badde, of the wyche fyve be payntyde.
 Ii. syx westementes wythe theyr albyes and all other thynges partenynge thertoo,
 one off blew welvett, and anotheyr of greyn; the thyrde off blew damaske,
 braunchyde; the foorte off reide satteyne, wyth a twnyckle too the same off
 the same sooytt, for a decane; the syxte off whytt satteyne.
 Ii. thre course westmeyntes, one for every Sondey, and too for every worke day.
 Ii. too chesablys wyth out albeys.
- Fol. 2. Ii. ix. drynge towells for the alters, goode and baidde.
 Ii. six cruettes, and thre sacrynge bells, and a labour to weishe wyth att the
 crysonynge off chylther, and too hande bells.
 Ii. too reyve surpleys for prestes, and syx playne for clarkes, and other syx olde
 surpleys for scolers.
 Ii. a vayle cloth for Lent, and other thre, one for our Ladys alter, and another
 for our Lady, and the thyrde for Sancte John off baptyste.
 Ii. Syx curteyns, too for the wheyr, too for the rude loveytt, and too off dyapper
 for Sancte Kateryns loveytt.
 Ii. a couerlett for the heyrssse, the coler greane.
 Ii. too standers of Lattyne, for the hey alter; and too smalle lattyne kandylstyckys
 for the same.

^a Added above the line in a different hand.

^b Sir Ralph Verney, of Penley, knight, by his will proved in the Prerogative Court 20 May, 1525, bequeathed as follows: viz., "Item. I will that the gownes of dame Anne Verney, late my wife, doo make vestiments to be given to Churches according to the discrecion of myne Executours."—Verney Papers, page 44. No doubt this "borthor of Clothe of Goolde" had formed part of dame Anne Verney's wardrobe.

Fol. 2. Iſ. too candylstyckes of lattyne for Sancte Caterns alter; and syx for the heyrſſe.

Iſ. too standyng deskes, too reide lessons off.

In Books.

In p̄mis, the cheve antyphoner wrytt.

Iſ. fyve antyphoners besydes, too printe and thre wrytt.

Iſ. thre graylls, too manuells, one legent prynt, too hymners wrytt, foor messe bookes, thre wrytt and one prynte, and syx precessyoners, foor wrytt and too prynte.

The Nappery weyr beyng in the custody off the Churche Wardeyns.

In p̄mys, thre dyapper towells, and too off playne cloothe.

Iſ. one dyapper table clothe and syx playne table clotheys.

Iſ. one payre of sheyttes, and too halfe sheyttes.

Iſ. a clothe for the rude.

Anno Domini Millesimo quingentessimo vigesimo Septimo. die vero Mensis Junii xvi^o finis.

1527.

Iſm. Resevyd of the mayall, alle costys & chargys borne xxx s. iii d.

Iſm. Resevyd of Thomas Wynchester & Wyllyam hause, lytemen^a to the blesyd sepulkur lytte v s.

Fol. 3. Iſm. payde for a senser and a holywater stepe vii s.

Iſm. payde for ii. new aubbys v s. viii d.

1528.

Fol. 4. Iſm. at Wytsuntyde rec^d of the mayalle xxxii s.

Iſm. payde to the cloke maker for a yere waygys xx d.

Iſm. payde for a newe manuell xx d.

Iſm. payde for a nauter clothe v s.

Iſm. payde for holloyng of ii. haubys viii d.

Iſm. payde for holloyng of ii. vestements viii d.

^a The lightmen, especially of the sepulchre, appear at times to have paid over certain sums to the churchwardens.

- Fol. 5. Iĥm. bowte xx. q^r barley, and iii. busshels made in maulte, at the same
price v li. xi s. x d.
Iĥm. payde unto Wylyyam lukase for fannyng of the same maulte v d.

1529.

- Fol. 6. Iĥm. resevyd of Cōfton hockealle iii d.
Iĥm. mayde of hower mayalle, clere xxx s.
Iĥm. resevyd of Thomas Bukmaster for Sent Mary way ii d.
- Fol. 7.

Iĥm. payde for halfe a c. waxe xxii s. viii d.
Iĥm. payde for mendyng the sepulker vi d.
Iĥm. payde for collys at Ester i d. ob.
Iĥm. payde for mendyng the bannar clothys and the surplys xii d.

1530.

- Fol. 8. Iĥm. resevyd of hower mayalle, at Whytsñtyde clere xxvii s.
Resevyd of Mr Robart Dormer,^a delyveryd to the said Mr Robart Dormer and
John a More too by wax in the yere last past viii li.
- Fol. 9. Iĥm. payde for a lectorne clothe xvii d.

1531.

- Fol. 10. Iĥm. resevyde of the mayale xxx s.
- Fol. 11.

Iĥm. payde to Pryst and Clarkys Allallontyde ii s.
Iĥm. for halowyng of the hauter clothys ix d.
Iĥm. for makynge of the aubys and amyas yssyd and the sorphelys ii s. xi d.
Iĥm. for a lyne for the Sakermemente i d.
Iĥm. payde for payntyng of iii clothys iii s. i d.

^a The accounts do not show the payment in the previous year to Mr. Robert Dormer and Mr. A. More of this large sum. Robert Dormer was knighted on the 18th Oct. 1537, and in 35th Henry VIII., on the dissolution of Monasteries, obtained a grant to himself and Jane his wife, daughter of John Newdegate, of Harefield, Serjeant-at-law, in fee of the Manor of Wing, part of the possessions of St. Mary de Pré, or de Pratis, near St. Alban's.

Of John a More's family, I find the following inscription was formerly in the church. "Here lyeth John Meredene, otherwere called John of More, the which John died the 30th day of Aug., in the yere of our Lord God 1489; on whose soul God have mercy. Amen." This was probably on a brass, which showed that he had four sons and nine daughters.

1532.

- Fol. 12. M^d there remaynyth in the hands of Robert Hythe and Robert Skrowgges lxxxiii li. of wexe of the Sepulker lyte, to be delyveryd the thursday next before palm Sondag next ensuyng to the Chyrchwardeyns aforesayde.
- Fol. 13. Imprim^s we solde to M^r Pownutes & Thomas Hynse xviii q^tys malte and a halfe for vii li. x s.
- Ii. receyved of Sir Richarde for halfe a yeres rente of y^e schoppe att Myhellmas viii d.
- Ii. recvyd for the maye ale, all costes alowyd xxviii s. viii d.
- Ii. payde to Wyttm a Welde^a for xx^{ty} q^tys barly v li. x s.
- Ii. payde for a lyne for the clothe afore the hey al^t ii d.
- Ii. payde to Wyllm Smead for makying of xx^{ty} q^tyr malte x s.
- Ii. payde for colys on Est^a neve ii d.

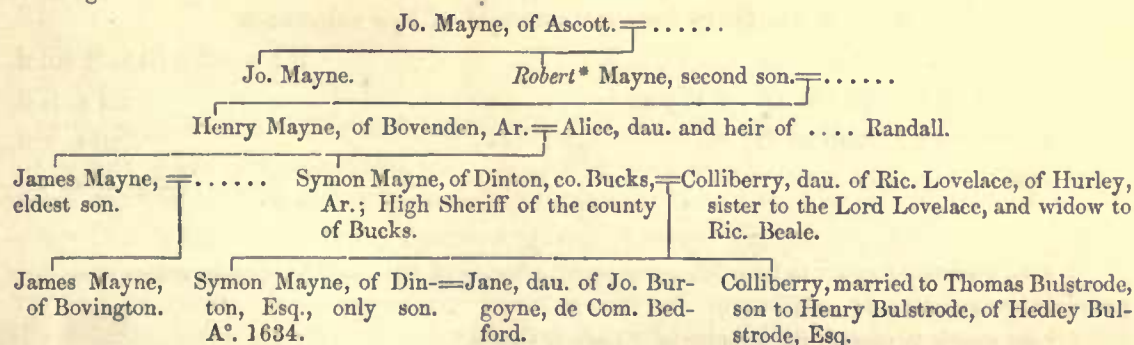
1533.

Fol. 14.

- M^d that I, Thomas Mayne,^b and John Godarde, and John Smewyen, Rycharde Theyrnbe, have receyved of Robartt Funten, Thomas Sere, and John Owen, and the Smythe of Asscott, receyved in redy money in the Churche Boxxe xvii li. x s. x d.
- Imprim^s, receyved of John Funtan, requeste of the ecceycuters xx s.

^a Henry de Weld was vicar 1351.

^b It is probable that Thomas Mayne was of the same family as Simon Mayne of Dinton, the Regicide. In the Visitation Book of Bucks, anno 1634, in the College of Arms, is the following pedigree of Mayne, and though Thomas Mayne is not found in it, yet it commences with Jo. Mayne, of Ascott, a hamlet of Wing.



(Signed) *Symon Mayne.*

* In a copy of this entry in another volume this *Robert* is corrected to *Richard*.

Fol. 14.	Iĥm. receyved of the Maye ale, costys and chargys a lowyd	xxxi s. v d.
	Iĥ. payd for All halowys Dyrge	xx d.
	Iĥ. payd for colys on est ^r heve	ii d.
	Iĥ. payd to the Masyn for laying of John Funten ^a stone ys wages and borde	viii d.

1534.

Fol. 15.	Iĥ. receyvd of the mayale	xxvi s. iii d.
Fol. 16.	Iĥm. for byndyng of the Churche bokys	iii s. vii d.
	Iĥ payd to master More for a psescynal of papar	xii d.
	Iĥ. payd at the Chapter Cowrte at Aylysbery bysydys owr labar	iiii d.
	Iĥm. payd apon hochmys day to the ayltter	xi li.
	Iĥ. payd to Elzabeth Baker for skowryng of ii. stondard canstkyes	vi d.

1535 and 1536.

The accounts for these years are imperfect. The receipts do not appear to be entered. The payments are very many, and include large repairs to the ornaments of the church. Amongst them are the following:—

Fol. 19.	Iĥ. payd for a dosson and a halfe of rynggys for yowyer lady of gesofe ^b	vi d.
	Iĥ. payd for a dosson yerdys of rebon for corten afore your layd of gesof	iiii d.
	Iĥ. payd to the smyght for makyng of the heyorn before Lady of gesuf	ii d.
	Iĥ. payd for payntyng of schen nycolas meyer and crosheyer staffe	xiii d.

1537.

Fol. 21.	Iĥm. reseȳd of Mast ^r John More bequest resevyd of hys seketures	iiii marke iii s. ʒ iii d.
	Iĥm. resevyd of the Oc all of Wyng ^c	xii s. ii d.
	Iĥm. resevyd of Crofton Oc all	iii s. v d.
	Iĥm. Ascot' Oc alle	iiii s. iii d. ob.

^a John Fountain appears to have left to the parish a legacy of 20s., and the churchwardens show their gratitude by expending 8d. on his tomb.

^b I am unable to explain the meaning of "Lady of Gesofe."

^c In the succeeding year this is called "the Church all at Octyde," and "Hocke Ayle." (See Brand, vol. i., as to Hocking and Hocktide.)

I tm . Bureot Oe alle	iiii s. vi d.
I tm . recevyd of the Maye alle ⁊ all costes borne	. xxxiiii s.

Fol. 22. I tm . payd for the exchange of a Chalys	xiii s. iiii d.
I tm . payd to the Carver for makyng of the tabernacle	xix s. vi d.

1538.^a

Fol. 25. I ^{te} . reyseyvyd yn the paryche of devo ^o n for the ornamentes	xxxviii s. ix d. ob.
Fol. 26. I ^{te} . for Crofton Hocke ayle	iii s. iiii. d.
I ^{te} . y ^t y ^e Church mene hathe reyseyvyd at the Whyts ⁿ ayle	. xxx s.
I tm . recevyd of Askott for the Churche all at Oetyde	. ii s.

In primis, payd for the organs and the ornamentes that cayme from Woburne
ix li.

I ^{te} . to Robert Hardyng for a lowde of stuffe from Hoburne	xv d.
I ^{te} . to Wylle ^m i Lucas for a lowede of stuffe from Woburne	xv d.
I ^{te} . to John Chapell for a lowde caryde from Woburn	xv d.
I ^{te} . for meyte ⁊ drynke when we went for the orgayns to Woburn, ⁊ for worke- men	ii s. vii d.
I ^{te} . to Sir Thomas for setting of y ^e organs	v s.
I ^{te} . for a glasse wyndo boght at Woburne	iii s. iiii d.
Fol. 27. I ^{te} . for xvii quarters of corne ⁊ vi busshell	lvi s. i d.
I ^{te} . to Sir Thomas for kyppanyng y ^e orgayns	v s.
I ^{te} . to y ^e smythe for the yreyn worke ⁊ y ^e polyssys, with a basket yn the rode lofte	xx d.

1539.

Fol. 28. I ^{te} . recevid of the hoke allemen	xvii s. iii d.
I ^{te} . ressevid of Crofton hok alle	ii s. iiii d.
I ^{te} . of Nycholas Bukmast ^r for a but call'd o ^r Lady Hadland ^b	. i d. ob.
Fol. 29. I ^{te} . recevid of the Wytso ^a aelle	xxx s. vi d.

I ^{te} . payd to X ^p ofer Rutter for caryege of the chyrche gere to London	viii d.
I ^{te} . payd for dressyng of the chyrch ger at London	viii s.

^a It appears by the payments of this year that the parish went to very considerable expense in purchasing organs and other ornaments from Woburn; probably on the dissolution of the Monastery there.

^b This "headland" is probably what is called St. Mary way in 1529, *ante*

Fol. 29.	Iĥ. to Xpofor Rutter for bryngyng home of the same chyrche geyr . . .	ix d.
	Iĥ. for met & drynk at the making of the torches . . .	iii d. ob.
Fol. 30.	MD. that I S ^r Thoma ^s brabant haue rec ^d of the Cherchemen for my halfe yere wagys fro' mydsom ^r to Crystm ^s ^a . . .	x s.
	Iĥ. payd to godfre the smyth for makyng the yernwerke before the hye auter . . .	iiii d.
	Iĥ. payd to y ^e paynter for paynting of a cloth . . .	xvii d.
	a pekke of colles for the ioiner, when he did mend the orgayns . . .	iv d.
	Iĥ. payd to S ^r Thomas for setting home of y ^e organs frō Langley . . .	iii s. iiiii d.
Fol. 31.	Iĥ. payd to mayn for a cloth to bryng hom the Bybull . . .	ii d. ob.

1540.

	Iĥ. peyd for xx hunderth weyghte of leade . . .	iii pounde xiii s. iiiii d.
Fol. 32.	Iĥ. reseyved of the meye ale . . .	xxviii s. viii d.
	Iĥ. pey ^d for meyster morse dryrge . . .	ii s. ob.
	Iĥ. on al sowllse dey offered to the preste . . .	i d.
Fol. 33.	Iĥ. peyd to the organ pleyer stranger for pleying . . .	viii d.

1541.

Fol. 35.	Item, reseyved of the sepulker alle . . .	xx s. iiiii d. ob.
	Item, reseyved of the occ alle . . .	xiii s. i d.
	Item, reseyved of the May alle . . .	xxx s.
	Item, reseyved of Crofton hocc alle . . .	iii s.

1542.

Fol. 36.	Item, payd for a chayn of the bybull & ii buckels for the badrys . . .	iiii d.
Fol. 38.	Item, for the sepoulker ale . . .	xx s. v d.
	Item, made of the hocc ale of Wyng . . .	viii s. ii d.
	Item, reseyvyd of Nycolas Buckmaster for the hocc alle of Askot . . .	iii s.
	Iĥm. recevyd of Jhñ Clarke prest, vicar of Wyng . . .	vi s.
	Iĥm. recevyd of the meye alle of Wyng . . .	xxx s.
	Iĥm. recevyd of the oocc all of Crofton . . .	ii s. iiiii d.

^a This entry is in a different handwriting, probably the autograph of Sir Thomas.

1543.

Fol. 39.	Item, reseyyd of the hocc men	xv s. viii d. ob.
	Item, reseyyd of the occ ale of Crofton	xx d.
	Item, reseyyd of the Wytsñ ale iiii nobulls	xxvii s. viii d.

Fol. 40.	Item, for mendyng of Saynt Catern hele and the sowthe syde of the Churche	vii s. vi d.
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Fol. 41.	Item, for mendyng of the Churche buckes	xviii s.
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1544.

	Iñ. r ^d of Mastres More for hyr sone lyinge ^a in the Churche	iii s. iiii d.
	Iñ. r ^d for hocke ale	vii s.
	Iñ. r ^d for the May ale	xxv s.
Fol. 42.	Iñ. payde for M ^r John a More obbet	vii s. v d.
	Iñ. offerd on All Sowles day	i d.

1545.

Fol. 43.	Item, payd for a schype skyn to mende the belows of the orgayns	iii d.
	Item, for a nabet for M ^r John a More	vi s. vi d.
	Item, payd to the constabull off Wynge ^b	viii s. iiii d.
Fol. 44.	Iñm. payd to the pñson of Grove ^c for kepyng the Cwere in the siknestyme	xx s.
	Item, payd to the orgyn playar for o ^r Lady day quarter ^d	vii s.

	Item, reseyyd off Thomas Sanders for ii alter clothes off hys mothers bequest	iii s. iiii d.
	Item, reseyyd off the hoc men	vii s. vi d.
	Item, reseyyd of the Executors off Robert Funten of Burcot	xii d. ^e

1546.

Fol. 45.	Iñ. recyvyd of Crofton hoke alle	ii s. ii d.
	Iñ. r ^d of the hocke ale	vi s. viii d.

^a This is the first entry of the receipt of a fine for burying within the church.

^b This is the first mention of this important official.

^c Grove is a neighbouring parish, the population of which is now very trifling.

^d This is the last payment to the organ-player. The organ, however, remained, and was repaired on the accession of Queen Mary.

^e There is no May ale this year; possibly on account of the sickness.

- Ii. r^d of the Maye ale xxx s. ii d.
 Fol. 46. Ii. r^d of Thomas Sander for the bequest of hys mother a bosshyll of wete w^{ch} was
 solde for xiiii d.

1547.

- Fol. 47. Thomas Pariche and Robt^e Mercaunte are chosyn for the hocke ale.
 John Norcotte & Francis Brise are chosin for the Roode light.
 Item, Robt^e Doblewe owethe unto the Church of olde debt xxi s. ii d. w^{ch} the
 pishe hath given him libtie to paye yerlye ii s. till suche tyme it be paide^a
 xxi s. ii d.
 Fol. 48. Item, we payd for ow^r costes & chyrsgys at the beshape vysytacyon at Alyesbury
 uppon the Fryday before Medsomer day last paste, & for o^r byll making
 xxiii d.
 Ii. payde to Cockesys wife for keypyng of y^e Chylde a fortnyght . . . xv d.
 Ii. payde to the Sexten at y^e buryyng of y^e Chylde . . . ii d.
 Item, payde to the Clarke for makyng off the inventory of the Church goods ii s.
 Item, payd to Sander & hys man for whyt lymyng of the Church . . . v s. v d.
 Item, payd for the Church boke iiii s. ii d.
 Ii. payde to y^e Clarke of Leyghton for boke to synge on . . . xvi d.
 Fol. 49. Ii. r^d for y^e Maye Ale xxii s.
 Ii. r^d for stuffe the whyche was solde of the Church goodes^b . . . xvi li. ii s.

1549.

- Ii. recevyd for the gylt of the Images iiii s.
 Ii. rē. for y^e Maye ale xxiii s. iiii d.
 Fol. 50. Ii. payd for two sawter bokes iii s. iiii d.
 Ii. payde for expences when y^e bokes were delyvred . . . xvi d.
 Ii. payde for y^e castyng of xxix hundred of lead . . . xix s. iiii d.
 Ii. payde for y^e leyyng of xx hundred of lead . . . vi s. viii d.
 Ii. payde for takyng up of y^e olde lead in y^e gallery & y^e leying of y^t agayne
 iii s. v d.

^a Robert Doblewe, or Daubene as it is afterwards written, paid some of the yearly instalments, but not the whole debt.

^b I am not clear whether these two items relate to 1547 or 1548. I believe the former year, in which case the accounts for the latter year are wholly wanting. The sale of the church goods was no doubt consequent on the accession of Edward VI., and had probably been ordered by the bishop at his visitation.

1550.

	Iṯ. recevyd for the May ale	xl s. ii d.
Fol. 51.	Iṯ. payde for wasshyng out of y ^e dome in y ^e rode loft	xvi d.
	Iṯ. payde for y ^e takynge downe of y ^e aulters & y ^e dressyng of the walle agayne	iiii s. ii d.
	Iṯ. payde for makynge of the table	iiii d.
	Iṯ. payde for the omelyes	xiiii d.

1551.

Fol. 52.	Iṯ. recevyd of the Maye ale	xxx s. v d.
	Iṯ. lost in the money that was in the Church box	xs. ii½ d.
	Iṯ. lost at the seconde fall of the Money ^a	iii s. iii d.
	Iṯ. gyven to pore people on all Soule day	ii s. iii d.
	Iṯ. payde for costes and charges at the comysaryes courte	x d.

1552.

Fol. 53.	Iṯ. recevyd of the Maye ale	xxviii s. vi d.
Fol. 54.	Iṯ. payde for two bokes	ii s. viii d.
	Iṯ. payde for wrytynge agaynst the aperaunce before the kynges Comyssoynrs at Aylys bury ^b	iiii s. iii d.
	Iṯ. for makynge of our byll at Aylys bury	ii d.
	Iṯ. payde for a boke of the articles at that tyme ^c	ii d.
	Iṯ. for the Church mens costes at the vysytaeyon of the Byshoppe at Aylys bury, & for two mens costes the w ^{ch} were w th them at that tyme	xvi d.

^a By a proclamation dated 30th April, 1551, intituled "A proclamation set furthe by the Kynges Maiesty, with the advise of his most honorable Priuey Counsayll, for the valuacion of the shillings and grotes to a meaner and lower value and rate," the value of the shilling was reduced to ninepence, and that of the groat to threepence : a copy of this proclamation is in the Collection of the Society. About August following a further reduction by proclamation was made to sixpence and twopence. (See Ruding, vol. ii. 106, &c.)

^b I presume these were the Commissioners to review the Ecclesiastical Laws, and draw a body out of them. See Collier's Eccles. Hist. (Barham) v. 479.

^c This was the Book of Articles drawn up by Cranmer. "Articuli de quibus in synodo Londinensi, anno 1552, inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum veræ religionis firmandum regia autoritate in lucem editi." (See Collier's Ecc. Hist. (Barham) v. 476.)

Fol. 54.	Iĥ. for the comynyan boke ^a		. iii s. ii d.
	Iĥ. payde to John Newlande when he went to borowe a boke		. ii d.
	Iĥ. payde for breade & wyne		. iii d. ob.
	Iĥ. payde for breade & wyne		. xxii d.
	Iĥ. payde for breade & wyne from passyon Sonday to hocktyde.		. ii s. vi d.
	Iĥ. payde at the delyveraunce of the churche goodes at Aylesbury for our costes & for the makynge of the indenture, & for a vestment y ^t was lackynge		. iii s. x d.
	Iĥ. payde for oure expences & for the makynge of our byll at Aylesbury at the Chapter Courte		. x d.
	Iĥ. payde from hocktyde to trynyty Sonday for breade & wyne.		. xiii d. ob.

1553.

Fol. 55.	Iĥ. the May ale		. xliii s. i d.
	Iĥ. payde for a wyne bottell		. iii d.
	Iĥ. payde for brede & wyne from trynyty Sōday to Mydsom ^r day		. ix d.
	Iĥ. payde from Mydsomer to Saynte James day for breade & wyne		. viii d.
	Iĥ. payde for brede & wyne		. iii d. ob.
	Iĥ. p ^d for a masse boke ^b		. vi s. viii d.
	Iĥ. p ^d to S ^r John for his costes at Oxford		. vi d.
	Iĥ. gevyn in rewarde to the byschope of Oxford ser ^v nt for hys peynes takynge at the holyng of the chalyce & y ^e corpus		. vi d.
Fol. 55.	Iĥ. p ^d to S ^r John for schoynge of hys horse		. ii d.
	Iĥ. p ^d to Adams for ii. days worke abowt the hygh awter		. xliii d.
	Iĥ. p ^d for breed & wyne for the churche		. viii d.
	Iĥ. p ^d to John Lucas for ii. vestementes		. vii s. iii d.
	Iĥ. payd for castynge of the saunet bell		. vi s. ii d.
Fol. 56.	Iĥ. payde to Ellyn London for scowrynge of the sensers		. ii d.
	Item, payd for a booke		. ii s. ii d.
	Iĥ. payde for an other boke		. xx d.
	Iĥ. payde for ii. candlestyckes besyde the money that was gethered		. x d.
	Iĥ. payde to the sexten for mendyng the hole under the chaunsell ^c		. ii d.
	Iĥ. payde for carrynge of stones for the makynge of the aulters		. vi d.

^a I suppose the Communion Service, published separately.

^b King Edward VI. was now dead. The purchase of a Mass-book marks the accession of Queen Mary.

^c Under the chancel is a crypt of very rude work. It appears formerly to have been entered by steps descending on each side of the steps which lead up to the chancel.

I ^t . payde for carrynge of sande for the tylers to the makynge of the aulters	iiii d.
I ^t . payde to Edwarde Warde for makynge of the frame about the sepulchre	x d.
I ^t . payde to London's wyfe for scowrynge of the cannapy . . .	i d.

1554.

Recevyde of Thomas Bennet for the sepulchre ale for the last yere . . .	xxii s.
Recevyd of the may ale	xlvi s. viii d.

Fol. 57. I ^t . payde for mendynge of the organes	xiiii s. viii d.
I ^t . payde for a presessyonar	xii d.
I ^t . payde for makynge of the sepulchre	x d.

1555.

Receved of burcot for sepulchre ale	viii s. vd.
Recevyd of Wynge for the sepulchre ale	xvi s. iii d.
Receved of Ascot for the sepulchre ale	xvi s. viii d.
Recevyd for oure maye ale	xl s. iii d.

Fol. 58. I ^t . payde to y ^e sexten for makynge of a laddre, ⁊ for breade ⁊ ale for watchynge of the sepulchre	xii d.
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1556.

Recevyd of my Lady Dormer for the bell	xl s.
Recevyd of Wynge for the bell	xix s. vii d.
Recevyd of Crofton for the bell	iii s. vi d.
Recevyd of Ascot for the bell	vii s. iii d.
Recevyd of burcot for the bell	vii s.
Recevyd of Wynge agayne for the bell	xi s. viii d.
Receavyd of Whyte for a fine	vi s. viii d.
Receavyd of Wynge agayne for the bell	vi d.
Receavyd of the May ale	lii s. ix d.

Fol. 59. I ^t . payde for the churchmans costes goynge to london	ii s. ii d.
I ^t . payde for our costes at buckyngham when we made a bargayne for the bell	xxi d.
I ^t . payde for our costes at the castynge of the bell	iiii s. i d.
I ^t . payde to the bell founder	iiii li. viii s. ii d.
I ^t . payde for castynge of the brasses ⁊ for mettell	xi s. vi d.

Iĥ. payde for carryng of the bell	.	.	.	v s.
Iĥ. payde for the hangyng of the bell	.	.	.	iiii s.
Iĥ. payde for drynke when the bell was hangyd	.	.	.	iiii d.
Iĥ. payde for carynge of the bokes to queynton	.	.	.	ii d.
Iĥ. payde for the rode, ʔ hokes, ʔ stapels, ʔ nayles	.	.	.	xxix s. i d.
Iĥ. loste in rose pens ^a ʔ hal pens	.	.	.	xii d.
Iĥ. payde for the crosse ʔ a pax	.	.	.	ii s. viii d.

1557.

Receavyd of the hock ale	.	.	.	xl v s.
Receavyd of the May ale	.	.	.	xli s. i d.

Fol. 60.	Iĥ. payde to John Appowell for the bell	.	.	iii li. vi s. viii d.
	Iĥ. payde for iii. bokes	.	.	ix s. vi d.

1558.

Iĥ. recevyd of the May ale	.	.	.	xl s.
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1559.

Fol. 61.	Iĥ. for a boke for the ministring of the sakement in Yngllis layde owte	.	.	v s. ii d.
	Iĥ. for takynge downe of the rode	.	.	vii d.

1559.^b

Fol. 62.	Resewyde of the hoke men for the hoke alle	.	.	xxvii s. ix d.
	Receveyde of Nichš Fowntayne for brekyng the Church	.	.	vi s. viii d.

1560.

Fol. 63.	P ^d firste lent to the ƿishe towards y ^e furnishynge of a sodyour	.	.	vi s. viii d.
	Iĥm. loste in the Church boxe by the fall of money	.	.	ii s. vi d. ob.
	Iĥm. p ^d for an Iniunçon for the Church ^e	.	.	iii d.
	Iĥm. more receyved for the Whitson ale	.	.	liiii s. iii d.

^a Certain coins called rose-pence had been coined and sent to Ireland, which were returned to England and uttered as current coin. This was suppressed by proclamation dated 16th Sept. in this year, a copy of which is in the Society's Collection. (See also Ruding, vol. ii. 129.)

^b No May ale this year.

^c Probably Queen Elizabeth's injunctions. (See Collier's Ecc. Hist. (Barham) vi. 256.)

1561.

Fol. 64.	In primis, of Rychard Chapman for a legacy geven to this Church of mother Fountayne	viii s.
	Iīm. to y ^e S̄mner to kepe us ffrome lineoln for slacknes of o ^r auters ^a	viii d.
	Iīm. for takyng downe the south auter	iiii d.
	Iīm. toward y ^e p̄ce of y ^e paraphrases (w ^{ch} cost xv s.) we layd out	vii s.
	Iī. payde for the table & other two lytle bokes	ii s. iii d.
	It ^m more receyved for y ^e Wytson ale	lvi s. x d.

1562.

Fol. 65.	It ^e reseved of Sir Wyllyam Dormer & other ḡntellmen at Ascot	vi s. iii d.
	It ^e payde to the sexten for takynge downe of our rode lofte	ii s.
	It ^e payde to London and Nasshe for takynge a waye the robelle of y ^e alters & laynge downe of the stone of the alter agayne	xvi d.
	It ^e payde for makynge of the Clarkes surplas & for mendynge of the Curates surples	vii d.
	Iī. payde for bread & wyne agaynste crystmas	iiii d.
	It ^e payde to y ^e mynsterelle at Whytsontyde	iii s. iii d.

1563.

Fol. 66.	Iī. receaved of the May ale	li s. vi d.
	Iī. payd for the homelye boke	iiii s.
	Iī. payd for bread & wyne for the hole yere	xxii d.

1564.

Fol. 67.	Iīm. resavyd of the Maye ale	iii li. ix s. vii d.
	M ^d that this yere at Whytsontyde was chosen for the Lorde John Taylor of Ascot, and Catheryn Chapman of Crofton.	
	Note—an ordre mētioned in y ^e end of this boke for y ^e Lord & Lady at Wytsonyde made this yere, 1565. ^b	

^a It seems evident that the people of Wing, probably from the influence of the Dormer family, were willing enough to restore the altars on the accession of Mary, but were slow to pull them down at the command of Elizabeth. The summoner, however, was good-natured, or at least accessible to the softening influence of a bribe.

^b The curious order here referred to is on what is now fo. 176, and which probably was originally the

[The order here referred to is as follows, viz. :—]

“ M^d. that S. Wylliam Dormer knyght, ffrauncs darrell & John a more gentlemē, w^t the consent of the church wardens th^r beyng, & the rest of the parryshe, have agreed & taken an order that all suche yonge men as shall hereaft^r by order of the hole parryshe be chosen for to be lorde at Whytsontyde for the behofe of the church, & refuse so to be, shall forfeyt & pay for the use of the church iii s. iii d. to be levyed vpon the sayde yonge men & theyr fathers & mayst^{rs} wherere the just default cā be founde, & eūy mayde refuysng to be lady for the sayd purpose to forfeyt vnto the sayde vse xx d. to be levyed in lyke order as is before expressed. And yt is provydyd that all suche howses out of the whiche the sayde lordes or ladyes, or one of thē, are chosen to stande fre from that purpose & charge for the space of vi yere thē next ensuyng. This order was taken, agreed upon, and in this boke noted the xth day of June, in the yere of o^r lorde god MCCCCCLXV.

1565.

Fol. 68. Iṯ. thys yere aboue wrytten was harrye kene chosen lorde & refused,
 & so payde to the Church iii s. iii d.

1566. Robarte Rychardeson the servaunte of Thomas Lygo was then
 chosen lorde and Kateryn Godfrey lady.

Iṯ. receaued of the Maye ale all thynges therto belonging discharged
 iii li. xiiii s. viii d.

1566.

Fol. 69. Iṯ. r^d for the chest that was in the rode loft xiii s. iii d.
 Iṯ. r^d of the May ale iii li. x s.

1567. Iṯ. this yere aboue wrytten was Clement Mareer lorde srūnt to Robarte
 godman of Wynge, & Jane franklen of the same ladye.

1567.

Fol. 70. Iṯ. receaued of the Maye ale iii li. vi s. viii d.

last page of this book. The accounts previous to fo. 176 extend to the year 1659, and by the inscription on the cover the book would appear to have been rebound in that year. Additional pages were then doubtless added, upon which the accounts are continued to 1723. I have thought it best to place the order under the year in which it appears to have been made.

1568. This yere was Richard cooke (as we call hym), servaunt to S^r Will^m Dormer, lord at our May, ⁊ Margarete Goodman, daught^r to John Goodman of Crofton, lady.

Collectors for y ^e poore	{	Wyllm Carter ⁊ Wyllm Arden.
To vewe y ^e comers to y ^e church	{	Hugh Stephens ⁊ Edward Norcott.
To vewe y ^e hie wayes for Wyng towne	{	Oliv ^r Plater. Rich. Torner.

1568.

Fol. 71. Iĥ. r^d of the may ale iii li. xii d.

Iĥ. payd for a boke iii s. iii d.

This yere was Roger Jewet, šrvaunt to Wylliam seare, lorde at our Maye, and Alys honar, švunt to Hugh Stevens, ladye.

1569.

Fol. 72. Iĥ. r^d of the Mayale iii li. ii d.

Iĥ. payde for Juels boke^a ix s. iii d.

This yere was Thomas goodale, šrvaunt to Rycharde Sancot, lord at o^r May, and Isbell Nycolas, daught^r to Harry Nycolas, ladye.

1570.

Fol. 73. R^d for o^r Maye Ale vi li. ob.

This yere was mathew, ffooteman vnto S^r Willm dormer knight, the lord of oure May, ⁊ Willm harmons mayd the lady.

Iĥ. payd for ryngynge when the quene was here^b viii d.

Iĥ. payd for iiiii syngenge bokes iii s. iii d.

Iĥ. pd to nashe for a Rayle for y^e church mownd iii d.

^a Probably the Defence of the Apology, published in 1567. (See Jewell's Works (Parker Society), Biographical Memoir, p. xxviii.)

^b The Queen probably only passed through Wing. She was at Chenies and Rycot in this year, and may have travelled through Wing in passing from one to the other. In 1554 she had slept at Mr. Dormer's at Wing on her journey from Woodstock to Hampton Court.

1571.

- Fol. 74. Rec. for oure may ale vii li. ii s. ix d.
 This yere was Henry Collett, švaunt to Richard Bate of Circott, lord at our Maye,
 ⁊ Agnes hurrodale, hugh norcott's wyfe's daught^r, lady.

Iĥ. p^d for a bybyll of the largyst volume, ⁊ of the newe pryntt^a xli s.
 The chargys ther of brynggyng home xviii d.
 Iĥm. p^d for mett ⁊ drynke for the rynggers of Sentt Hewes daye, by cōfiadmentt
 of the paryter ffrome the bossoppe^b iii s. vi d.
 Iĥm. p^d to the Vyker for a newe bocke calyd canons^c iii s.
 Iĥm. p^d to the jiner for makynge of the pewe ⁊ the deske v s.

1572.

- Fol. 75. R^d for the May ale v li. xiii s. vi d.
 This yere was Willm Sawnders, for Rob^t Sawnders howse, lord of o^r May, ⁊ Katheryn
 tailer, the dought^r of Thomas, lady.

1573.

- Fol. 76. Iĥ. made of the Maye ale lxi s. i d. ob.
 Iĥ. payde for the lorde of lyncolnes boke^d iii s.

1574.

- Fol. 77. Iĥ. r^d of o^r may Ale, all thynges dyscharged iiii li. v d.
 P^d for makynge of the byll of chrysteninges ⁊ buryalls iiii d.

1576.

- Fol. 79. P^d for a tynne wyne bottell for the churche xviii d.
 P^d for too breves that came from the bishoppe of Cawnterbury iii d.
 For a booke called Bullengers decades vii s. vi d.

^a This must have been the Bishops' Bible, first printed in 1568.

^b St. Hugh's day was the 17th November, the day on which Elizabeth became queen.

^c "A booke of certaine canons concernyng some parte of the discipline of the churche of England."

4to. Lond., by John Daye, 1571.

^d Exposition of Lessons from the Old Testament, by Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln. 4to. 1573.

For a booke of Iniunctions & artycles ther^a iiiii d.
Receyved of oure Maye ale, all charges discharged iii li. xviii s.

1577.

Fol. 80. If. r^d for the may ale, all thinges discharged iii li. xviii s. i d. ob.

1578.

Fol. 81. This p̄sent yere 1579 ther was no may ale made, for that waters howshold was
vesyted w^h sycknes & suspected w^h the plague.^b

1579.

Fol. 82. Receyved for the Maye ale, all thinges discharged vi li. vi s. vii d. ob.

1580.

Fol. 83. Ifm. p^d for a Comvnyon boke vii s.
Ifm. p^d to pollardes daft^r for one burden of Roshes to strewe the churche howse
agaynst the comyssoners sate there i d.

1581.

Fol. 84. Receyved for the May ale liiii s. x d.

Ifm. p^d for one Locke to hange one the pore manes boxe x d.
Fol. 85. Ifm. p^d to Shilborne f^r making the cotypes of my lord of Lyncoln's letter vi d.

1582.

R^d for the May ale & the hock ale, all thynges dyscharged iiiii li. ix s.

Fol. 86. If. payd to the paynter f^r payntyng the srypture in the Churche xxviii s. vi d.

1583.

Fol. 87. If. p^d for ii salter bookes for the Churche vii s.

^a "Articles agreed upon in the Convocation at Westminster, MDLXXV." 4to. Lond. by Ric. Jugge, n. d.

A copy is in the Bodleian Library.

^b There seems a blunder in this entry, as there was a May ale in 1579.

1590.

- Fol. 94. P^d vnto Bartholomewe Alton of Buckyngam for the castyng of the second bell & puttyng in ii. c^t weyght of new mettell more then the old bell weyghed
x li. xii d.

1591.

- R^d for the Maye ale, all things discharged vii li. xiiii s. x d. ob. ^a

1592.

- Fol. 96. R^d of M^r Cherry of Cublington for that his wife was buried in Sainct Katheryns
ele vi s. viii d.
R^d for the Maye ale & all costes & charges borne x li. x d.

P^d for a Co^munion booke xi s. viii d.

1593.

- Fol. 97. I^ſ. p^d for a sanctus bell and the bell metall 1 s. x d.
I^ſ. p^d for Iron for the May pole xii d.

1594.

- Fol. 98. I^ſ. p^d at Alesbury for expenses & a boke of articles ^b iii s. i d.

1595.

- Fol. 99. I^ſ. p^d for takyng downe of May poles & lainge y^m up x d.
I^ſ. p^d for a booke of sermons ^c to be red in the Churche viii d.

1597.

- Fol. 101. P^d to Watkyn & Casy for mendyng the crosse xx d.

1598.

- Fol. 102. R^d for the May ale, althinges discharged ix li. xvi s. iii d.

^a This entry does not occur in the interval from 1582.

^b The receipts for this year are partly wanting. An edition of the Thirty-nine Articles was published in 1593, and may be the book here referred to.

^c Possibly the Second Book of Homilies.

P^d for a parchment booke for a Regester for christeninges, weddynges, ⁊ buryalls,
⁊ the byndyng of y^t^a xx s.

1599.

Fol. 103. I^t. p^d for a bord was lost at the Maye vi d.

1600.

Fol. 104. R^d for the May ale, all thynges discharged ix li. xii s.

P^d for Jewell's booke vi s.^b

P^d for an offerynge boxe xviii d.

1603.

Fol. 107. P^d for a booke for prayer for the king for Awgust^c xii d.

P^d for ii. bookes of prayer in the plage tyme ⁊ y^e Cownselles tres^d iii s.

P^d for a comunion booke vi s. viii d.

^a The existing Register commences 1546, and is continued in the same book down to 1749. It would seem, therefore, that in this year the old book was added to, and rebound.

^b I do not find any book of Jewel's published about this time.

^c "A fourme of prayer, with thanksgiving, to be used yeerly on Aug. 5, for his highness deliverance from earl Gowry's traiterous attempt." 4to Lond. 1603.

^d "Certaine prayers collected out of a forme of Godly meditations set forth by his majesty's authoritie, most necessary to be used in the present visitation." 4to Lond. 1603.

XXIII. *Journal of the Mission of Queen Isabella to the Court of France, and of her long residence in that country. Communicated by JOSEPH HUNTER, one of the Vice-Presidents.*

Read Nov. 29, 1855.

THE year 1325 is memorable in the history both of England and France as a time when very difficult negotiations were going on, and when the Queen-Consort of England undertook the office of mediator between her husband, the King of England, and the King of France, her brother.

A female diplomatist gives an interest of a peculiar kind to these negotiations. The matters in dispute were certain rights in Guienne, and the insisting by the King of France on the immediate render of homage by the King of England for the lands he held in the realm of France. In the end questions arose far more important than these, so that this and the following year may be regarded as a very remarkable crisis in our constitutional history.

There are few events which are related with greater unanimity, both in respect of facts and of policy, by the several writers who have treated on the history of this period; nor in bringing this subject under the notice of the Society am I about to disturb this unanimity, or to unsettle opinions which have been so long received. I wish, rather, to give increase of confidence in those opinions (with perhaps, however, slight exceptions,) by stating certain facts more clearly, more fully, more authoritatively, than they have hitherto appeared. I do not aspire to the honour of penetrating to the secret purposes of the principal actors in this business, or of unveiling dark designs and criminal intentions. These things belong to the historian, and demand the exercise of the higher faculties of the mind. It is for the antiquary to collect and arrange the facts for the historian's use, to examine into their claims on his reception, and to place them before him in exact and lucid order. Surely no unworthy occupation; a needful labour if history is not to degenerate into romance. This is what I now propose to attempt in respect of the portion of history before us.

Of course the Society will be prepared to receive facts, each singly considered very minute in itself, and possibly wearisome in the detail. But it is of the very

essence of antiquarian literature to condescend to great minuteness ; and facts in the transactions of eminent persons in long past ages, when they are placed on the firm basis of sufficient evidence, the most insignificant, may fructify and enrich the historical garden. Even to know that a particular person was at a particular place on a particular day may clear away a very important historical doubt.

A very slight sketch of the events which led to the part which the Queen took in these negotiations will be sufficient.

The party of which the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford may be considered as the leaders met with what was little less than its destruction by the death of the two earls, and of several of the more eminent of their adherents. This occurred early in the year 1322, and from that time the administration of public affairs was committed to the Spencers, who had almost uncontrolled sway. But their administration was unfortunate and unpopular. They were unsuccessful in the war with Scotland, and some little act of imprudence on the part of those who administered the affairs of Guienne involved them in a serious dispute with the King of France, or afforded him a pretext for acts of hostility against England, as by some writers the affair is represented. On behalf of an unfortunate prince it may be said, that, in respect of our foreign relations, he maintained a dignified attitude, making strenuous efforts to maintain by force what were his rights in the realm of France, and, at the same time, very desirous to maintain peace. It might, perhaps, be contended that he acted throughout the part of a patriotic sovereign in very difficult circumstances.

Not the smallest part of the difficulties in his position arose out of the evil terms on which he was living with his Queen, who was a Princess of France. She held him in great disesteem, and she disliked the Spencers extremely, whom she charged with instances of personal disrespect, as well as with offensive intentions towards herself in the part of their public policy which concerned the Duchy of Cornwall. She was sister to the King of France, who at that time was Charles le Bel, the last of the three short-lived brothers sons of Philip le Bel. That she was faithless, politically, to England, has not, I think, been insinuated ; but she was on the best terms with her brother, and appears to have looked up to him as her natural protector in the oppression which she alleged that she suffered from her husband, and especially his ministers. When affairs grew darker, and there was every prospect that the two nations must both put forth all their strength, recourse was had to the mediation of the Pope, in those days the great arbitrator between contending states and between sovereigns and their subjects. The Pope

sent the Archbishop of Vienne and the Bishop of Orange his nuncios to England. They remained here till the 21st of November in 1324, when they received a present of plate from the king's wardrobe at the Tower. This mission led to no immediate results. The King of France continued harassing the King's Acquitanian subjects. On the 5th of January, 1325, the King received letters from two Gascons, named Amanenus de Fossato and William de la Launde, and other persons of the Isle of Oleron, complaining that they were ejected by the power of the King of France, and were come to England to implore his assistance.

It was at this time that the determination was taken to make use of the influence which the Queen might have in composing these feuds; and she consented, not unwillingly it may seem, to visit the court of the King of France her brother, and, with the assistance of the English leiger-embassadors, to settle terms of amity and peace. It seems to have been a wise act of policy as respects the nation, a dangerous act as respects the King. Some even think that the whole design originated in French not English policy, but this I leave to the historians.

The measure was finally determined upon early in the year 1325, for it was on the 8th of March in that year that the King communicated his intention to the Pope. (Rymer, 595.) It was then, indeed, something more than an intention, for it was on the next day, the 9th of March, that the Queen landed at Whitsand, the usual place of disembarking, near Calais.

One historian says that she went with large attendance and circumstances of extraordinary magnificence. I believe this to be a mistake. At least I find no traces of such magnificence in documents where they might be expected to appear if the embassy was on any extraordinary scale of expense. A treasurer of her household was appointed, and the sum of 1,000*l.* placed in his hands, with permission to draw for more at Paris from the Bardi, great Italian merchants. John de Cromwell went in her suite, the same who was afterwards so great an enemy of the King.

It would be the duty of the treasurer, whose name was Sir Thomas de London, to make an exact report of the expenditure of the money thus intrusted to him. This report he made when his duties were over, and this report still exists among the Miscellaneous Compotuses of Her Majesty's Exchequer. It is an unadorned fiscal document. It is of the expenses of the household of the Queen, not including private and personal expenditure, chiefly relating to the expenses of provisions for the table. Its chief value as an historical document is that it enables us to trace day by day the Queen's removes, to see in many cases what visitors she received, and we can collect from it one or two precise dates of

important events, which thus come to us on an unexceptional contemporary authority.

We will, then, follow the Queen, with the light which this honest chronicler holds out to us, day by day, from the 9th of March, 1325, when she landed near Calais, to the 29th of September, when the account closes.

The 9th of March in that year was on a Saturday. The Queen rested at Calais on the Sunday, and on Monday proceeded to Boulogne, where she slept. The next day she was at Montreuil, a town in the Earldom of Pontive, which had accrued to King Edward I. by his marriage with Eleanor of Castile. Here the Queen remained for three days. On the 15th she was at Cressy, the same Cressy (for there was another Cressy in Picardy) near to which the great battle was fought twenty years afterwards. On the 16th she slept at Araynes, and on Sunday, the 17th, she was at Poix.

Her route lay through Beauvais and Ybovillers to Pontoise, where she found the Queen of France, with whom she and part of her suite dined. She made no stay here, but on the next day removed to Poissy.

At Poissy there was a palace of the King of France, and a convent of Dominican ladies, which had been founded by Philip le Bel. At a short distance from Paris, this lay very conveniently for conferences, and such, no doubt, took place here during the ten days, from the 21st to the 31st of March, that the Queen remained here. We do not, indeed, know that the King of France or his ministers did resort to Poissy at this time, but we find the leiger-embassadors from England meeting the Queen, and remaining with her on the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of March. They were the Bishops of Norwich and Winchester, with John de Britannia, Earl of Richmond. They had received their Prestita in Michaelmas Term, 1324, so that, serious as the differences were, they had not led to the breaking off of all diplomatic relations between the two countries. We do not find the ambassadors dining with the Queen later than the 24th, and it may be presumed that they then took their departure, the Queen remaining at Poissy, where the two Bishops returned to her on the 30th, and were entertained in her closet.

On the 1st of April she entered Paris.

The palace of the Bois de Vincentz was assigned to her for her residence. She became established in it on the 3rd of April, and on the 7th, which was Easter Day, attended the celebration of mass in the neighbouring church of St. Anthony.

During the whole of her journey from the coast the daily expenses of her household were defrayed out of her own funds. She received however frequent presents of provisions from the King her brother; and it being the season of Lent

they consisted of fish, of which there was great variety—pike, bream, turbot, conger eel, sturgeon, lamprey, porpoise, carp, and a fish called luz, which is distinguished from the pike.

On the 10th of April she went into Paris to the chapel of the palace. It was a visit to the relics. On the 11th she and part of her suite dined with the Queen of France (Joan). From that day to the 17th of April the treasurer has inserted nothing in his account but the ordinary daily expenses at the Bois de Vincenz.

The remainder of the month of April was spent in an excursion to Poissy and places in its vicinity. She arrived there on the 18th, having passed through Saint Denis. On that day she entertained at dinner, at Poissy, the Bishop of Norwich and the Earl of Richmond, together with the Abbot of Saint Denis, Sir Louis de Claromonte, and the Countess of Foys. This entertainment appears to have been of some magnificence, the treasurer claiming for the expense 32*l.* 6*s.* 6¼*d.*, while the ordinary daily expenses were but about 15*l.* On the 19th she was at Saint Hilary; from the 20th to the 25th at Poissy; on the 26th at Mantes; on the 27th at Saint Germain (Sanctum Germanum in lacu), and on the 28th she was returned to the Bois de Vincenz, where she remained stationary till the 13th of May.

No occurrences of these days are noticed by the treasurer, except that on the 7th of May the Queen attended the celebration of mass in the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame; and that on Sunday the 12th the Count de Claremont with a great part of his suite was received by her to dinner.

During the whole of the month of April the negociations were proceeding, and by the end of that month, or the very beginning of May, the negociation, as far as the Queen was concerned, might be said to be brought to a conclusion; for the letter to the Pope (Rymer 599), in which the King of England relates what had been concluded, is dated on the 14th of May. He writes in a desponding tone, and was evidently very much dissatisfied with the result. A truce had been obtained, but it was to last only till the quindenies of Pentecost, which was about the 10th day of June. The whole of what was disputed territory was to be placed in the King of France's power, and this being done the King of England was to go in person to France there to do his homage, when the King of France would restore the greater part of the territory he had occupied; and as to the rest, it was to remain in his occupation till a solemn judgment was pronounced in the courts of France touching the right to it.

All this was matter for great deliberation in King Edward's Council, and historians represent that his ministers declined to advise, and wished that a par-

liament should be called. The Queen remained at Poissy and Bois de Vincentz, where she entertained Sir William de Ayremine, who seems to have come on a special embassy on the 18th. On Sunday the 19th she received the quarter of a wild boar and rabbits from the king's warren, and presents of this kind began to flow in to her more abundantly than before. But while in this state of suspense, waiting the decision of the English court, she took an excursion from Paris as far as Fontainebleau, going by Corbeil. On the 26th of May there was a large assembly of diplomatic people at Fontainebleau, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Bishop of Orange, the Bishop of Norwich, and the Earl of Richmond, who all dined with the Queen on that day, being the feast of Pentecost. On the 27th and 28th she returned to the Bois de Vincentz, where on the 29th she received a visit from the Countesses of Valois and Claremont, and the Duchess of Lorraine "et plures magnates." Then on the 30th of May we have this definite entry on the margin of the treasurer's account :—"Isto die fuit Regina in Palatio Paris, coram concilio Regis Franciæ pro pace concordanda."

This is the treaty which we have in the *Fœdera*, p. 601, dated the 31st of May. It is stated in the treaty itself that it was made with the concurrence of the Queen and of the two prelates who represented the Pope, and it was signed by the Bishop of Norwich, the Earl of Richmond, and Sir William de Ayremine on behalf of the King of England.

It appears that the King of England had not been able to obtain any mollification of the hard terms of the treaty, of which a draft had been submitted to him. He had however, we see, been induced to accept the terms, as perhaps the best that could be obtained, and the treaty was now solemnly ratified. The point of rendering personal homage, one of the worst parts of the feudal system, when the persons concerned were men of high birth, high rank, high spirit, and of near equality in position, was conceded; and now Beauvais was the place agreed upon for the meeting of the two Kings, and the time fixed was the feast of the Assumption, the 15th day of August, which was changed for the quindenies of that feast, the 29th of the month. It was however stipulated, as if in prescience of what might happen, that if either King was hindered by sickness or any other strong impediment, the other stipulations of the treaty should nevertheless remain in force.

Some writers appear disposed to represent the King of England as not acting in good faith in the matter of the homage. An opportunity of examining documents relating to this affair has led me to a different conclusion. This at least is certain, that great preparation was made, and some expenses incurred, for the King's visit to Beauvais. He meant to go in royal state. A list is preserved of

317 persons to whom robes were issued from the royal wardrobe preparatory to this expedition. Among them were ten noble youths who happened to be at the time wards of the Crown. We find amongst them, Edward de Monthermer, Robert de Ferrars, John L'Estrange, and Hugh le Despenser. Each was to be attended either by a "maistre" or a "compaignon." Amongst the rest were 49 esquires. To transport them a little fleet was collected, which was to be ready at Dover on the 18th of August.

Men, horses, and baggage were actually sent to Whitsand, there to await the arrival of the King, going to France to do his homage for Guienne, as is expressed in the receipt for payment of port dues to the Earl of Boulogne. The men of Dover provided vessels, for which they declined to receive any compensation when the voyage did not take place; but they received something for a barge carrying the Bishop of Carlisle and Sir Robert de Well, sent by the King to the parts of France on secret business, while he was staying at Dover "for his own passage to France, there to do his homage for the Duchy of Guienne." The King's own barge, called the "Saint Mary of Westminster," was put in requisition, Andrew de Rosekyn the master being commanded by the King to follow him from Pontefract (a place so called, near London, or possibly Broken-wharf,) to Dover, to pass with him to the parts of France, should the King go thither. We find also that jewels, as well as provisions and other necessities, were sent to France on the King's service. Lastly, Sir Almerie le Zoueh, porter of the King's hall, was sent to the parts of Crotey to make preparation there for the King's coming; and some preparation was also made at Beauvais.

During this agitating interval, the King was in frequent correspondence with France. On the 2nd of August, letters "sub secreto sigillo" were dispatched to Sir William de Ayremine. On the 27th of August, John de London, a messenger of the Bishop of Winchester, brought letters to the King, and returned with an immediate answer, when letters were also sent to the Queen, "sub privato sigillo," by a special messenger.

The accounts of King Edward's household for the 19th year of his reign are not now known to exist, so that we are deprived of the easiest and most certain means of learning the several removes of the court during that year. But by aid of the testes of various writs, we find that for the greater part of the month of July the King was at Westminster; on the 5th of August, at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire; on the 9th, at Havering at Bower; and on the 15th and 16th, at Pontefract, not the northern town so named, but the place before spoken of. He then moved in the direction of Dover, and on the 24th of August we have a writ

dated at Langdon, which was a monastery near to Dover. On the 2nd of September he was still at Langdon; on the 5th, at Dover; and, in the course of the month, he may be traced at Ledes and Merefield, returning towards Westminster.

He had thus, we see, overstepped the time when his presence was expected at Beauvais. Indeed, while he was at Langdon, on the 24th of August, five days before the time appointed for the meeting, he addressed the letter to his brother of France which we have in the *Fœdera* (p. 606), signifying that he had set out on his journey, but was unable to proceed by reason of sickness. There is no doubt that the mortification of being bound to perform a service so distasteful to him, working upon a mind like his, may have produced such derangement of the system as would quite incapacitate him for proceeding; and the length of the time during which he remained at Langdon Abbey and Dover seems to render it the more probable that it would have been at least unsafe for him to travel to such a distance, setting aside the consideration of any inconvenience he or his ministers might apprehend as possible, were he to put himself in the power of his Queen and the King of France. However, the personal part of the treaty was now over, and it could not but be a great disappointment to those who had signed it in the belief that thus all differences would be composed, and especially to the Queen, whose treaty it may be said to have been, and who might read in the event only further proof of the imbecility of the King, or perhaps even of the disposition of the Spensers to degrade and disgrace her.

To the Queen we must now return, whom we left at the close of the month of May, having witnessed the ratification of the treaty, which Walsingham says was concluded at the Bois de Vincentz. Sir William Ayremine was much with her at this period; but took his departure on the 5th of June. The Bishop of Norwich remained. On the day of Ayremine's departure, the Queen visited, at the Temple, Clementia, a queen dowager of France, widow of Lewis Hutin, the eldest brother of the king then on the throne. Queen Isabella dined with her on the 11th, and received her to sweet-meats and wine on the 14th. Of the English ambassadors, the Earl of Richmond also remained at Paris, and on the 16th supped with the Queen. The Countess of Foys was then also on a visit to her, remaining till the 26th, when the Queen visited the Minoresses at Saint Marcellus. On the 19th she had attended the celebration of mass at the Friars Predicants. On the 29th she visited another house of religion, the Carthusian Friars of Paris. We find, further, that the two prelates who represented the

Pope remained at Paris; for on the last day of this month of June, they and the Earl of Richmond dined with the Queen.

In the first fortnight of July nothing is recorded beside the ordinary daily expenses, except that, on the 13th, the Countess of Saint Paul partook of sweet-meats and wine with the Queen.

Anxiously watching, as she must have been, what was passing in England, she nevertheless left Paris on the 14th of July, nor did she return till the 9th of September. She established herself at the Palace of Chastel Neuf sur Loire and Jargaux, in the Orleannois, where she arrived on the 19th, having passed through Bourg la Reine, Chastre, and Estemp. She remained here till the 5th of September, making only one short excursion on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of August, to Saint Ey, Marchenoir, and Bois Jency. The treasurer notices only two visits which she received while here, namely, from the Earl of Richmond, on the 1st of September, and from the Bishop of Winchester on the 2nd. They perhaps brought to her the intelligence that the King was unable to appear at Beauvais at the stipulated time. It appears also, by a letter in the *Fœdera* (p. 607), that the King of France was himself at Chateau Neuf on the 4th of September, and had had conferences there with the Queen on proposals sent from England, which in that letter he accepted and ratified. This being done, on the 5th the Queen set out on her return to Paris, where she arrived on the 9th.

The King of England's inability to proceed to Beauvais was no doubt an untoward event, and the minds of the ministers of both countries would naturally be turned to the discovery of some means by which any evil effects of it might be obviated. Those means were found. Who first devised them, and by what means the two courts of France and England were brought in so short a time to adopt them, is among the mysteries of state policy not laid open to us. The means were these. The King of England was to be relieved from the obligation of personal homage. He was to surrender all his possessions in the realm of France to Prince Edward, then about 13 years of age, afterwards our renowned King Edward III. The Prince was to do the homage, and the other terms of the treaty were to be fulfilled as if the homage had been performed by the King himself. It was a resolution hastily formed, and, looking back upon it from these times, when we know what ensued upon it, it appears to have been fraught with much danger to the King. It placed the heir apparent in the power of the Queen and of her family.

The King of England assented to the arrangement, and at once made a formal cession of Guienne and Ponthieu, whatever indeed he held of the King of France,

to his son and heir apparent, who immediately proceeded to Paris, where, and not at Beauvais, the homage was to be performed.

When the Queen was returned to the Bois de Vincentz, she received the Earl of Richmond on the 12th of September, together with the Minister General of the order of the Friars Minors with his society. On the 13th, another diplomatic person appears upon the scene, Sir Otes de Grauntson, who dined with her on that day; and in the evening there was a large assemblage, including the Countess of Saint Paul, the Countess Devereux, a French archbishop, and the abbot of Cluny. On the 19th, Sir Otes again dined with the Queen; and on the 21st, the Earl of Richmond.

The Treasurer of the Household has next recorded that, on Sunday, the 22nd of September, Prince Edward arrived at Paris. He came attended by Sir Richard Hausted. On that day, 2,400 florins of the lamb, the value of each being 50 pence, were advanced to William de Cusance, the keeper of his wardrobe, for his expenses while in France. There was no delay; for the treasurer further informs us that, on Tuesday, the 24th, the Prince did his homage, and that the Queen of England on that day dined with the King of France, who also sent a present of four does to her larder.—“September 24: Isto die comedit Regina cum Rege Franciæ; quo die filius Regis Angliæ fecit homagium suum pro Vasconia.”

Thus were arranged all the ostensible and legitimate objects of the Queen's mission. And here we take leave of this honest if not very communicative chronieler; for he had nothing to record beside the ordinary daily expenses during the few remaining days of the month of September, the Queen still residing at Paris. The whole of the money accounted for as household expenses is 2,479*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* and for forinsec expenses, 361*l.* 4*s.* 2¼*d.*

But the history of the Queen's residence in France does not end here. And now begins the inquiry into secret purposes and motives, into which I do not propose to enter, taking upon myself the humbler office of the collector and arranger of facts. It appears to have been the duty of the Queen, now that the purpose of her mission was accomplished, to return to England, and to restore the young Prince thus incautiously placed in her hands to his father and sovereign. This, however, was not her intention; and, though the King wrote frequent letters to her imploring her to return, and commanding his son, the young Prince, to remember his promise at parting, that he would return as soon as the homage was performed, the Queen remained immoveable in her purpose of remaining abroad, and she kept the Prince, not absolutely near her person, but where he

seems to have been compelled to act under her control. Some accounts state that he went into Guienne.

She was living at Paris till the 14th day of November, and probably for the remainder of the year, except as she went on short excursions, with or without any political purpose. We have not the benefit of such an account as that of London for the six or seven weeks from the 29th of September to the 14th of November, but we have what well supplies its place when carefully studied, while it affords us many particulars of the Queen's private and personal expenses of which the treasurer of her household gives no account. And here it may be proper to mention that where we have accounts like that of the treasurer, we have also, if time and chance have spared them, *Particulæ Compoti*, being accounts rendered by subordinate officers to the great accomptant. Sometimes we have the account without the *particulæ*; this is the case with London's accounts. Sometimes the *particulæ* without the general account; this is the case with the Queen's expenses in the months of October and November. These *particulæ* are under the heads of Coquina, Speciaria, Panetria and Butellaria, Mariscalcia, and Necessaria, under which term Dona Eleemosyna and Nuncii are included.

By a comparison of these subsidiary documents, we learn that for the first fortnight of October the Queen remained in her old abode at the Bois de Vincentz. The Countess of Warren and the Lady Beauchamp were much with her. The two prelates nuncios of the Pope took their departure for Rome, when they received from her a present of plate, cups, pitchers, and basons, valued at 35*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* She sent messengers with letters to the Bishop of Viviers, also to Sir William de Heromval and the Abbot of Cluny. She gave with her own hands 5*s.* to Jeffery Boder and John le Petit, "infirmati de infirmitate inferni et restituti sanitati in ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ de Paris in presencia Reginae," offering at the same time 5*s.* at the image of the Blessed Mary, and 5*s.* at divers relics placed behind the high altar. To two boatmen who ferried her across the Seine to the church she paid 12*d.* She presents 13*s.* 4*d.* to a nun of the house De la Barre who had come to Paris to wait upon her, and the same sum towards the expenses of her return. On the minoresses of Saint Marcellus, near Paris, on a visit which she paid to them, she bestows 4*l.* in aid of their support. To the boatmen of the Port Nully, and other boatmen who ferried her, with her suite, carriage and horses, across the Seine, she pays 5*s.*

The last payment was made when she was on her way to Poissy, on the 14th of October. When there she presented 5*s.* to the carpenters, masons, and other

workmen who were employed about the church of the Predicant Sisters, to buy wine for themselves. She herself returned to Paris on the next day, leaving part of her suite at Poissy.

The Queen remained at Paris till the 22nd of October, leaving it, if at all, only for short visits to Poissy. During this time she dispatched letters to the Queen of France at Villars juxta Rees, to the Chancellor of France at Vivers in Cou-dray, and to the Archbishop of Vienne in reply to letters received from him. She gave small alms to a brother of William de la Licher, formerly valet of her chamber, to Ralph de Saint German, formerly porter of the kitchen to her mother, and to Ivo le Briton, a poor boy who had served in the Queen's court when she was an infant, and who came imploring alms.

On the 22nd of October she set out on a progress to Rheims. I cannot find in the French chroniclers that there was any grand solemnity to be performed in that city at which she had to assist, and perhaps the only inducement was that she might be present at the Feast of All Saints. The line of her progress lay through Bourget, Louvres, where she made a donation to the brethren and sisters of the Maison Dieu; Senlis, where she was met at the entrance by the Friars Minors, to whom she gave a pittance. She gave also small sums to sister Nichola, a minoress, to the nuns of the house of Saint Remigius, to the nuns of the Maison Dieu, and to two persons who came complaining of losses at sea. Alms to poor people and letters dispatched to Sir William de Boudon, at Paris, by the hands of Donald de Scotia, a messenger of the King of England, are the only incidents as she advanced to Perefontz. On the 28th she reached Soissons, where she was met, as before, by the Friars Minors, who received their pittance. Here the nuns of the house of Saint Stephen, the sisters of the house of Saint Lazarus, and the sisters of the Maison Dieu received small donations. She offered at the high altar of the church of Saint Mary 25s. to purchase a cloth of Lucca. She offered 5s. at the relics in that church, and the same sum at the relics in the church of Saint Viverius. John de Gysy was her host at Soissons. She passed through Fismes and arrived at Rheims on the 30th. These minute particulars may be interesting to the French antiquaries, as any such of a foreign traveller in England in the fourteenth century would be to ourselves.

Here the Queen passed three days. Cloths of Turkey-work, in their value in money, were offered at the high altar in the church of the Abbey of Saint Nicasius, at the church of Saint Remigius, and at the Cathedral Church. Offerings were also made at the relics in the churches of Saint Nicasius and Saint

Remigius; money to purchase a cloth of Lucca to the church of the Friars Minors; 5s. at the head of Saint Nicasius in the Cathedral Church; pittances to the Sisters Minoresses, the Friars Minors, the Carmelites, certain Cistercians, and to another religious foundation, the name of which is lost owing to an imperfection in the record. She made a special offering at the Ampulla, the sacred vessel containing the oil with which the Kings of France were anointed at their coronation. Large sums were here expended on rich apparel. A mercer of Paris received 40*l.* for cloth of the colour of Malbryn, with furs of minever and ermine, bought for the Queen against the Feast of All Saints, as is expressed in the record. Furs were given by the Queen's command to Eustace Poer, Richard Tuyt, and John de Bikerton, who appear to have been her pages. Small payments were made to persons who had acted as guides, conducting the Queen at divers points on the way between Paris and Rheims. Three shillings were expended on an escutcheon by Ralph Richepos, who is described as a minstrel, but the offices of minstrel and herald were in those times often united in the same person.

The liberality of the Queen to the religious of Rheims was not yet exhausted. On her departure she bestowed a pittance on the Augustine Friars; small sums on persons who are called *Filiæ Dei*, the Beguine Sisters, the nuns of Saint Anthony, and the nuns of the Hospital of Saint Peter. She also presented again at the relics shown on the altar in the church of the Abbey of Saint Nicasius; and as she passed by their house, in going between Toucherie and Fismes, she gave small alms to the nuns of Oremont.

She returned to Soissons, resting as before one night at Fismes. At Soissons she on this occasion presented a diaper cloth to the high altar of the church of the Abbey of Saint Mark, and offered at the relics. She gave a donation to the *Maison Dieu* near the church of Saint Gervase, to the sisters of the house of Saint Mark, and to two poor musicians "*vidulatores*" who played before her. She distributed a small sum among eight persons, officers as it should seem of the church of Saint Mark, but the record is injured in the place, "*ad nuces et poma sibi emenda.*"

As she was leaving Soissons she was met by three poor converts "*tribus conversis pauperibus*" imploring alms, to whom she ordered that 12*d.* should be given. She slept one night at Jansi, and on the 5th arrived at Compeigne, where she remained the whole of the 6th of November, and was scarcely less liberal to the religious than she had been at Soissons and Rheims. She offered at the relics in the church of the Abbey of Saint Cornelius; gave pittances to the Friars Predicants, the Friars Minors, the nuns of Saint John, the Beguine Sisters,

the nuns of the Maison Dieu, and to a convert named Marota. From hence she sent a runner of her wardrobe as a messenger to Paris, probably to make preparations for her return.

It is clear that this progress was conducted with much of state and magnificence, and we may presume that it was not undertaken without the sanction of the King of France. To the King of England it could not but have an air of defiance, as he was at the time so urgently pressing her return as essential to the peace and welfare of his kingdom. To the Spensers it would show a despite of their influence, and of the indignities she fancied that she had received at their hands. We have little more to relate concerning the progress. She moved rather slowly on her return to Paris. She passed through Pont Saint Maixence and Louvre; gave something to a sister of the Maison Dieu, who complained of the burning of their house; offered at the tooth of Saint Christopher, in the priory of Saint Christopher; and had again to make payment to guides.

About the 13th of November she reached Paris.

The proceedings of the Queen in the seven weeks which succeeded the rendering of the homage by her son are the more interesting when we view them in connection with what was passing in England, where the King was putting every engine in motion to enforce her return and the return of her son. On the 14th of October we find from the account of his forinsee expenses that he wrote under the secret seal to the Queen and to the Countess of Warren, and at the same time under the privy seal to Prince Edward and to the King of France. On the 19th of October he wrote again to the Queen, the King of France, and also to the Pope; and on the 22nd, the day on which she began her progress, to the Queen and Prince. The rapidity with which these letters succeeded each other manifests great anxiety, which, as the event proves, was not unreasonable. This anxiety shows itself in the letter which the King addressed to the Pope, of which a copy remains, printed in the *Fœdera* (p. 613); but more strikingly in a letter dated at Westminster on the 1st of December, addressed to the King of France, copies of which were transmitted to the most distinguished persons of the French court, refuting an opinion which the King of France had expressed—that his sister would not be safe in England as long as the Spensers retained their power over the King; and pressing in terms of earnestness, rarely manifested in modern diplomacy, that the French King should use all his influence to induce her to return, and that the young Prince should be delivered to him immediately. This letter is also to be read in the *Fœdera*, p. 615. At the same time he wrote to the Queen a most urgent letter to the same effect, and on the second of that month to

the Prince, commanding him to return, with the Queen or without, reminding him of the promise which he had made at Dover.

With special and original information, such as that which I have now laid before the Society, I am not provided touching the Queen's removals after the date at which the computuses fail us; but I am not willing that this communication shall be brought to a conclusion without giving a very faint outline of the important events which the historian has next to record. The King of France encouraged his sister in her resistance of marital and regal authority. Some historians give rather a different view of his policy; but that support given by him to her is made a part of the *casus belli* when the war between the two kingdoms began to be more earnestly prosecuted. As to the Queen, she put herself under the protection of the Count of Hainault, with whom she concerted measures for her return to England, in a manner very different from the return prescribed for her by her husband. She engaged that her son Prince Edward should marry Philippa, one of the daughters of the Count of Hainault, and the Count on his part engaged to furnish a small army—some accounts say about three thousand men—of whom his brother, John de Hainault, undertook the command. In the summer of that year the King of England laid an embargo on all French vessels in his ports; and on the 26th of August issued writs, dated at Clarendon, to the sheriffs of the several counties, setting forth that, "Because the King of France has made war against us by receiving our wife and eldest son in his dominions, whom lately we sent to him in full confidence of his love, and detains them contrary to our will, and by encouraging and comforting our enemies and rebels, and by invading our duchy with a great army, and distressing us and our faithful subjects in various manner of war by land and by sea; and now, as we are informed, all persons belonging to our realm and power passing through his kingdom, or dwelling in it, together with their property, he has commanded to be arrested, and kept in arrest—we straightly enjoin upon you that you apprehend all men of the power and dominion of France within your bailiwick, with their ships, goods, and all other things whatsoever, except men of religion, ecclesiastical persons, and those who within this our realm have fixed domiciles, children, and wives, and have now for a long time lived here as if natives born, and all Flemings and Bretons, as long as the truce continues between us and them, and that you keep them in safe and honourable custody till otherwise commanded by us." This writ is enrolled upon the Originalia of the 20th year; and I have recited it as being more definite and full in setting forth the

grounds on which the King rested his entrance into a more open war with France at that time than documents usually cited.

He gave the command of the eastern coast, when the descent of Isabella and the Hainaulters was become imminent, to his brother of the half-blood Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, who was also by birth cousin-german to the Queen. But the King had lost his influence. His orders were feebly responded to, so that he had no army to oppose the invaders. She and the Hainaulters landed at the mouth of the Orwell a little before the 27th of September. The Prince seems to have been with her. We have not the means of tracing her triumphant march from the time of her landing; but in November she was in Gloucestershire. On the 3rd of December she was at Woodstock, and there remained till the 22nd, when she and the Prince removed to Wallingford, there to keep their Christmas. Passing through Reading, Windsor, Chertsey, and Merton, they arrived at the palace of Westminster on the 4th of January; and on Sunday, the 1st of February, the King having been induced to resign, the Prince was crowned King as Edward III., and what may be called a new era in our history commences.

I do not speak of what happened to the poor King after this, it being matter of public history, and the history well narrated and generally known; and I bring this communication to a close with two remarks—

First, that in all the details of the Queen's expenditure, which have afforded us so much information, the name of Roger Mortimer never occurs; so that, as far as this evidence goes, we have no reason to suppose that he was present counselling the Queen in the negotiations, or in attendance upon her, to the 14th of November, 1325, when the book of these particular details is closed to us. The chroniclers inform us that he landed with the Queen and the Hainaulters, so that it would seem he might be taken into her councils while she was in Hainault.

Secondly, that these very authentic particulars show, I am sorry to say, how extremely ill-informed Froissart was concerning this period of history; yet he was himself born at Valenciennes only a few years after these events occurred. It is quite painful to compare what he has delivered as the story with what is the truth. On the other hand, the statement of our own Walsingham is well borne out by the evidence of these contemporary records, being supported by them in almost every particular.

XXIV.—*Sépultures Chrétiennes de la période Anglo-Normande, trouvées à Bouteilles, près Dieppe, en 1855. Par M. L'ABBÉ COCHET.*

Read 14 June, 1855.

Du 20 Avril au 16 Mai 1855, j'ai exploré une partie du cimetière abandonné de l'ancienne paroisse de Bouteilles, supprimée en 1791, et dont l'église a été démolie en 1806. Le motif de cette recherche était le désir de recueillir et d'étudier des cercueils de pierre et des croix de plomb avec formule d'absolution, genre d'antiquités que l'on avait rencontrées en 1842, lors de la confection du chemin de grande communication No. 1, de Dieppe à Neufchatel. J'ai été assez heureux pour y trouver les objets que je cherchais.

L'espace exploré a été d'environ vingt mètres de long sur dix de large. C'est une langue de terre a peu près perdue entre deux chemins, l'ancien et le nouveau. Dans cette portion de terrain que nous avons remuée jusqu'au sol naturel, à une profondeur variant d'un à deux mètres, nous avons trouvé deux vases entiers et un grand nombre de fragments de vases, provenant de sépultures de diverses époques.

Les deux vases entiers (dont un seul a pu être conservé) étaient en terre blanche, fine et légère, mais vernissée de vert à l'intérieur. Tous deux avaient une anse, et un seul (celui qui reste) était percé sur la panse de quatre trous pratiqués après la cuisson, probablement pour l'évaporation du feu : car j'ai cru reconnaître dans son sein des restes de charbons. Selon toute apparence, il dut servir à renfermer les tisons et l'encens (*prunæ cum thure*) que nos pères avaient coutume de placer avec les corps, et dont parle Durand de Mende, dans son Manuel des Divins Offices.^a Du reste, ce vase (Pl. XXI. fig. 6) a dû être placé neuf dans la sépulture, car il semble bien n'avoir jamais servi à des usages domestiques.

Les autres vases, qui n'étaient point forés sur la panse, ont dû être employés à recevoir de l'eau bénite (*aqua benedicta*), comme nous l'apprend encore le même évêque de Mende.^b

Parmi les divers fragments recueillis çà et là, il y en avait de toutes les périodes.

^a Rational ou Manuel, liv. vii. ch. 35, N° 35.

^b Ibid.

On y reconnaissait la terre noire des temps mérovingiens et les restes de ces plateaux de grès qui durèrent parmi nous du xiv^e au xvi^e siècle ; mais la poterie dominante était celle du xiii^e siècle. Ce qui nous faisait surtout reconnaître cette dernière, c'était le vernis verdâtre dont les fragments étaient recouverts à l'intérieur. Désirant savoir si cette matière colorante était siliceuse ou à base d'oxide de plomb, je l'ai soumise à l'analyse de M. Girardin, qui m'a répondu que *ce vernis était siliceux*.

Nous avons encore trouvé dans cette terre, tant de fois remuée par les âges, plusieurs pavés émaillés entiers ou en morceaux. Quelques-uns représentent des fleurs de lis, des croix de Malte, des damiers, des feuillages, des bordures, des fleurons, des reines-marguerites, &c. Ce sont des débris provenant du pavage de l'église, du xii^e au xv^e siècle, époque de la prospérité saunière de Bouteilles.^a Mais nous avons hâte de le dire, ces morceaux de vases et ces débris de pavés se rencontraient dans les terrains supérieurs aux tombeaux dont nous allons parler, et par là même leur étaient postérieurs.

La découverte la plus curieuse et la plus importante a été celle de neuf tombeaux en pierre calcaire, alignés le long d'un mur qui dut faire autrefois partie d'une église disparue. Ils se trouvaient ainsi placés sous la gouttière (*in stillicidio*), ce qui paraît avoir été conforme aux idées de ce temps. Pepin-le-Bref paraît en avoir inauguré l'usage parmi nous, en se faisant enterrer, en 768, dans le parvis de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis, sous la gouttière. Hugues Capet l'y suivit en 996. L'agiographie anglaise nous montre en 862. S^t Swithin, évêque de Winchester, se faisant inhumer à la porte de sa cathédrale ; et l'agiographie française nous fait voir S^t Loup, de Sens, enterré en 623 sous la gouttière de l'abbaye de S^{te} Colombe.

Nos histoires et nos chroniques normandes nous apprennent aussi qu'en 996 le duc Richard I., mourant à Fécamp, demanda à être inhumé sous la gouttière ou le larmier de l'abbaye,^b et que son fils Richard II. voulut l'y suivre en 1026.^c Enfin l'évêque de Coutances, Geoffroy de Montbray, décédé en 1093, supplia

^a Pour les salines de Bouteilles consulter—Les Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie, t. xix. p. 256—268 ; La Revue de Rouen de 1852, p. 6—18 ; Le Bulletin des Trav. de la Soc. d'Emulation de Rouen pour l'année 1843—L'Histoire de Dieppe, par M. Vitet, 2^e édition, p. 26—La Vigie de Dieppe, des 12 et 16 Décembre, 1851.

^b "Cadaver tanti sceleris non requiescet infra aditum templi hujus, sed ad istud ostium, in stillicidio monasterii." Dudon, de Saint Quentin, pp. 56 et 57. Neustria Pia, p. 210.—Les Eglises de l'Arrondissement du Havre, t. ii. p. 40. Licquet, Hist. de Norm. t. 1^{er}, p. 149. Fallue, Hist. de la Ville et de l'Abbaye de Fécamp, p. 86.

^c Licquet, ibid. p. 219.

également qu'on le plaçât sous la gouttière de la cathédrale qu'il avait bâtie.^a M. Auguste Leprevost, ce doyen vénéré de tous les antiquaires normands, pense qu'une croyance normande ou scandinave attribuait à l'eau des temples une vertu purifiante.

Ces tombeaux assis sur un fond d'argile jaune touchent au sol naturel : ce qui, pour le dire en passant, indiquerait assez qu'avant le xi^e siècle on n'inhumait guères autour de nos églises. Leurs parois avaient été construites avec plusieurs pièces de moellon, et deux seulement avaient conservé leurs couvercles qui étaient entièrement plats. Il est probable que tous ont dû posséder des couvercles, mais que le fossoyeur les aura fait disparaître de temps à autre. Deux ou trois seulement ont donné trace du mortier qui avait servi à souder les parois ; les autres ne paraissent pas en avoir reçu.

La forme de ces cercueils était fort étrange. Les deux côtés n'étaient pas droits, mais ils affectaient la forme un peu bombée d'une nef ou d'un navire, suivant les ingénieuses expressions de nos anciennes lois, qui appelaient ce genre de cercueil une nau, "noffum vel nauffo."^b

Le sommet du Sarcophage (figs. 4, 5), composé souvent d'une pièce et parfois de deux ou trois, présente une entaille circulaire disposée pour recevoir la tête du défunt qui s'y emboîtait parfaitement. Les morts que l'on déposait dans ces coffres de pierre n'étaient point renfermés dans des cercueils de bois, mais simplement enveloppés d'un suaire, car dans l'entaille dont nous parlons il n'y avait absolument que la place d'un crâne humain.

Ce genre de sarcophage bien connu des archéologues, dont on a retrouvé l'analogue dans le chœur de l'abbaye du Tréport^c en 1840, et tout récemment aussi un fragment dans le cimetière de Martin-Eglise, est attribué au xii^e siècle par tous les archéologues.^d Rien en effet ne fait présumer que cette mode, un peu singulière, ait dépassé le xiii^e.

La pierre est également très-caractéristique de l'époque. Ce n'est plus ni le Vergelé, ni le Saint Leu, si communs parmi nous du vi^e au x^e siècle ; c'est tout simplement la craie, la pierre du pays prise à même nos falaises ou nos carrières. C'est la même que l'on retrouve dans les couches les plus profondes des cimetières

^a Sepultus est in stillicidio ecclesiæ, quod vivens humiliter et instanter postulaverat.—Gall. Christ. t. xi. p. 872.

^b Liber Legis Salicæ, tit. xvii. N^o 3 ; Parisiis, Jac. Rézé. 1652.

^c Les Eglises de l'Arrond. de Dieppe, t. i. p. 175.

^d Cours d'Antiquités Monumentales, t. vi. p. 313. Abécédaire d'Archéologie, p. 160. La Sépulture Chrétienne en France, p. 13.

de Martin-Eglise, d'Ancourt, de Quiberville, de Biville-sur-Mer, et de Hautot-sur-Dieppe. Ce genre de sarcophage, qui n'a guère duré que deux ou trois siècles, est contemporain du tuf que l'on rencontre à Longueville et à Bordeaux-en-Caux, dans le Grand-Val d'Etretat.

L'orientation était absolument celle des temps catholiques indiquée par nos vieux liturgistes, Jean Beleth et Durand, de Mende. "Ponuntur mortui capite versùs occidentem et pedibus versùs orientem," dit le premier; à quoi le second ajoute, comme toujours, son sens mystique: "Debet autem quis sic sepeliri ut, capite ad occidentem posito, pedes dirigat ad orientem: in quo quasi ipsâ positione orat et innuit quod promptus est ut de occasu festinet ad ortum." Durand avait raison; le chrétien de son temps priait jusque sous la pierre du sépulcre. Un auteur du xiii^e siècle a écrit que les Grecs reprochaient aux Latins de ne pas croiser les mains ni les bras de leurs morts. Mais c'est là une erreur, car nos morts de Bouteilles, couchés sur le dos et face au ciel, avaient les avant-bras pieusement croisés sur la poitrine. Chose que je regarde à peu près comme certaine, c'est que les images gravées sur les tombeaux de cette époque n'étaient que la traduction matérielle, je dirais presque la contre-épreuve de ce que renfermait la sépulture.

C'était sous les bras ainsi croisés que l'on plaçait la croix de plomb contenant la formule d'absolution que nous allons citer (fig. 5). S'il était permis d'animer la mort, nous dirions que ces pauvres gens pressaient cette prière sur leurs cœurs comme leur dernier trésor en cette vie et leur plus chère espérance en l'autre.

Deux ou trois corps ont été trouvés couchés sur le côté droit, dans l'attitude du sommeil; mais leurs bras étaient également croisés sur la poitrine.

Un médecin de Dieppe, M. le Docteur Moriarty, présent à la découverte du corps d'un nommé Regnauld, nous a assuré d'après l'examen des ossements que c'était un homme de trente-cinq à quarante ans, d'une grande force physique, ayant possédé une belle tête, pleine d'énergie et de caractère.

Notre savant chimiste de Rouen, M. Girardin, ayant bien voulu analyser un fragment du crâne de Regnauld, à présent déposé au Muséum d'anthropologie de Paris, a trouvé la composition suivante sur 100 parties au poids:—

Eau interposée	.	.	.	.	5.00
Matière organique azotée	.	.	.	.	4.25
Phosphate de chaux des os	.	.	.	.	80.00
Carbonate de chaux	.	.	.	.	5.00
Silice	.	.	.	.	5.75

100.00

“Cet os, comme on le voit, a perdu la plus grande partie de son tissu cellulaire azoté et toute sa graisse ; il a donc séjourné pendant de longues années dans un terrain humide et assez meuble, propre à la décomposition des matières animales.”

En effet le cercueil de Regnauld, ainsi que tous les autres, était rempli de terre végétale, et il posait sur l'argile. Deplus, le cimetière de Bouteilles, assis dans une vallée, est très voisin de l'eau.

Ce nom de Regnauld (Ragelnaude) que nous avons lu sur la croix de plomb placée sur la poitrine du défunt, était évidemment un nom de baptême ; mais à cette époque reculée les noms de famille étaient assez rares chez le peuple, et chaque homme n'était guères connu que par le nom de son baptême. Et puis dans l'Eglise les hommes ne sont appelés que par leurs noms de baptême comme devant Dieu.

La longueur de ces divers cercueils était généralement de deux mètres ; la largeur variait de vingt-cinq à quarante-cinq centimètres, et la profondeur de trente à quarante. Quoique un peu renflés vers le milieu, ils étaient beaucoup plus étroits aux pieds qu'aux épaules.

Selon moi, le résultat le plus important de cette campagne a été la découverte de la croix de plomb que l'on plaçait sur les morts, tant en France qu'en Angleterre. Non seulement nous en avons trouvé ici trois précieux échantillons qui enrichiront le Musée de Rouen, mais encore, ce qui est plus utile pour la science, nous avons pu étudier la véritable place où on les mettait sur les morts, détails jusqu'ici restés inconnus.

Les ouvriers qui, en 1842, avaient trouvé les premières croix d'absolution, ne nous avaient rien appris à leur sujet. Il faut même les remercier d'avoir conservé ces frères monuments. A Saint Front de Périgueux, où pareille découverte a été faite,^a les détails manquent aussi bien qu'à Lincoln, à Chichester,^b et à Edmund's Bury, en Angleterre. Ici au contraire nous avons recueilli de nos propres mains trois croix placées sur la poitrine même des morts et comme pressées sous leurs deux poignets pieusement croisés sur leur cœur. Ainsi donc, le mystère est éclairci et la place est fixée désormais, au moins pour la Normandie ; il faudra examiner si ailleurs elles occupent la même position, et qui est plus que probable, le moyen-âge ayant été universel dans ses idées et ses institutions.

Le côté de l'écriture était tourné vers le corps du défunt, et une pointe qui

^a A. Murcier, *la Sépulture Chrétienne en France*, p. 27.

^b Mr. W. Wylie, “Observations on certain Sepulchral Usages of Early Times ;” apud *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. pp. 298—304.

termine deux d'entre elles, indiquait le bas, qui sur le mort occupait toujours la partie inférieure.

Les croix dont nous parlons ont la forme d'une croix de Malte, et rappellent assez bien les croix de consécration, les croix de cimetières, et les croix de carrefour du xii^e siècle.

Jusqu'ici nous n'avons pu en déchiffrer entièrement qu'une seule (fig. 1), mais nous avons tout lieu de penser que les deux autres sont libellées de la même manière. Voici la formule que nous avons lue intégralement ; elle ressemble à cette absolution générale que le prêtre du diocèse de Rouen donne encore aujourd'hui au malade qui reçoit l'extrême-onction.

“Oremus. Dominus Jesus Christus qui dixit discipulis suis: Quodcumque solveritis super terram erit solutum et in cœlis, et quodcumque ligaveritis super terram erit ligatum et in cœlis, de quorum numero nos licet indignos esse voluit, ipse te absolvat, Ragelnaude, per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus criminibus tuis quæcumque cogitatione, locutione et operatione negligenter egisti, atque nexibus absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna cœlorum, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.”

L'autre croix, où nous avons pu déchiffrer quelque chose, appartenait à une femme, c'était celle qui n'avait pas de pointe (fig. 2) et près de laquelle s'est rencontrée la pièce de monnaie dont nous parlerons tout à l'heure. L'inscription n'en couvre qu'un peu plus des $\frac{3}{4}$; la partie haute doit renfermer la formule ordinaire: “Oremus. Dominus Jesus, &c.” Mais à la fin on trouve l'oraison, “Absolve,” que le prêtre récite encore aujourd'hui sur le corps du défunt lorsqu'il est déposé dans la fosse et qu'il y a jeté trois fois de la terre. Nous n'avons pu lire très facilement que les mots: “Absolve . . . in resurrectionis gloriâ . . . ressuscitata . . .” et de là nous croyons pouvoir conclure avec certitude l'oraison suivante: “Absolve, Domine, animam famulæ tuæ ab omni vinculo delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloriâ inter sanctos et electos tuos ressuscitata respiret, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.”

L'écriture paraît avoir été tracée avec la pointe d'un style, et le fond destiné à la recevoir semblait avoir été réglé et rayé avec le même instrument, afin de diriger la main du scribe. Il s'en suivrait donc qu'au xii^e siècle on avait encore conservé l'usage du style antique. Du reste, cela serait peu surprenant puisque nous retrouvons ces instrumens en très grand nombre dans les cimetières Francs des temps mérovingiens et même carlovingiens. L'histoire raconte que le célèbre Scot Erigène, qui vivait sous Charles-le-Chauve, fut tué à coups de styles par des moines Anglais auxquels il faisait la classe.

Afin de tirer de ce document archéologique tout le parti possible, j'ai soumis ces croix, avec leurs caractères et leurs inscriptions, à l'examen des hommes les plus compétents que renferme la capitale de la France, et surtout aux professeurs de notre Ecole des Chartes, le premier établissement paléographique de l'Europe. Voici la réponse qu'a bien voulu me transmettre M. Arthur Murcier, archiviste-paléographe, qui, dans cette affaire, s'est fait mon représentant. "J'ai montré," m'écrit-il, "vos croix à M.M. Lacabane, le comte de la Borde, Vallet de Viriville, Jules Quicherat, Natalis de Wailly, et Léopold Delisle. Tous, après les avoir examinées avec un vif intérêt, les ont attribuées au xii^e siècle. M. Léopold Delisle, qui les a étudiées tout spécialement, se prononce nettement pour le xii^e siècle.

"L'écriture est une minuscule, dont quelques-unes des lettres me semblent dériver de l'alphabet oncial dont l'emploi s'arrête au xi^e siècle ; mais M. Delisle et les autres éminents paléographes appuient leur opinion sur les caractères intrinsèques tels que le formule et le contexte, beaucoup plutôt que sur les caractères extrinsèques tels que l'écriture et les signes abrégatifs.

"Il est bien plus commun, en effet, de voir les scribes introduire dans leur écriture des variétés de forme que des formules nouvelles. Chacun a son écriture, bien que chacun n'ait que les mêmes lettres à sa disposition, ceci est incontestable. Vous me direz que chacun aussi a son style ; oui, mais point dans la rédaction des actes où l'on est astreint à des formules déterminées. Or, au moyen âge, les scribes n'ont guère écrit que des actes. Ceci posé, je crois que le style des croix peut être rangé dans une catégorie à part, mais toujours dans une classe d'actes à peu près uniformes. Reste à savoir si la formule d'absolution est du xii^e ou de tout autre. Nous la croyons du xii^e, parceque nous la retrouvons la même dans la liturgie de ce temps. La latinité est celle du xii^e siècle, les noms propres semblent également lui appartenir. Passé ce temps on ne les retrouve plus, ou leur forme a changé."

Soumises à l'examen de la chimie, mes croix n'ont offert à la perspicacité de M. Girardin, de Rouen, que du *plomb pur et sans aucun alliage*. Le cercueil de Gondrée, fille de Guillaume le Conquérant, dont j'avais rapporté un fragment de Lewes, en 1851, n'avait également présenté à notre savant professeur que du *plomb avec de légères traces d'étain*.

Enfin, j'ai de plus appelé sur ma découverte l'attention de la numismatique, et voici de quelle manière j'ai été conduit à provoquer un arrêt de cette science dont les décisions sont souvent sans appel.

Une circonstance minime en apparence mais très importante en réalité, surtout pour ses conséquences archéologiques, signala le 9 mai l'exploration de celui de nos tombeaux qui contenait la croix la plus lourde, la seule qui soit dépourvue de

pointe inférieure. En surveillant avec la plus grande attention l'enlèvement des terres qui entouraient les os du squelette, je recueillis une toute petite parcelle de métal entièrement oxydée et que je pris d'abord pour un ornement ou un bouton de cuivre. Après l'avoir nettoyée avec soin, je découvris que c'était une monnaie d'argent de forme à peu près carrée, ayant 13 millimètres dans tous les sens et pesant 30 centigrammes.

Etranger à la numismatique, mais comprenant tout le prix que pouvait avoir pour moi cette fragile pièce de métal, je m'empressai de la communiquer à M. Adrien de Longpérier, membre de l'Institut et conservateur du Musée des Antiques au Louvre. Voici quelle a été la réponse du savant antiquaire.

“ Votre petite monnaie n'est pas fort commode à lire, cependant j'oserais affirmer qu'elle n'est pas Normande. Elle a surtout l'aspect des pièces de Beauvais et d'Amiens. Les évêques de Beauvais ont conservé le monogramme de Charles-le-Chauve, sur leurs déniers, jusqu'à la fin du xiii^e siècle ; mais ce monogramme est quelquefois altéré. Il y a une douzaine d'années que j'ai expliqué, dans la *Revue Numismatique*, comment ce monogramme, qui se voit sur la monnaie de l'évêque Hervée, contemporain de Hugues Capet, avait ensuite été reproduit par l'évêque Henri (1148), et par Barthélemy qui lui succéda en 1162, trois siècles après Charles-le-Chauve. Votre fragment de monnaie est si maltraité par le temps, que je n'ose pas dire s'il est du xi^e ou du xii^e siècle. Mais vous pouvez soutenir sans crainte qu'il n'est pas du xiii^e ni du ix^e. ”

Cette conclusion est aussi celle de M. J. Y. Akerman, de Londres, l'un des plus savants numismates de l'Europe.

M. Thomas, avocat à Rouen et numismate fort distingué, ayant examiné la même pièce, a reconnu sur l'avvers un monogramme qu'il croit être celui de Charles, et sur le revers une croix un peu pattée. Dans son opinion cette monnaie est “ carlovingienne, mais de la fin de la période ; ” il la croit semi-royale et émise par un seigneur de Beauvais, d'Amiens, de Meaux, ou des ces contrées.

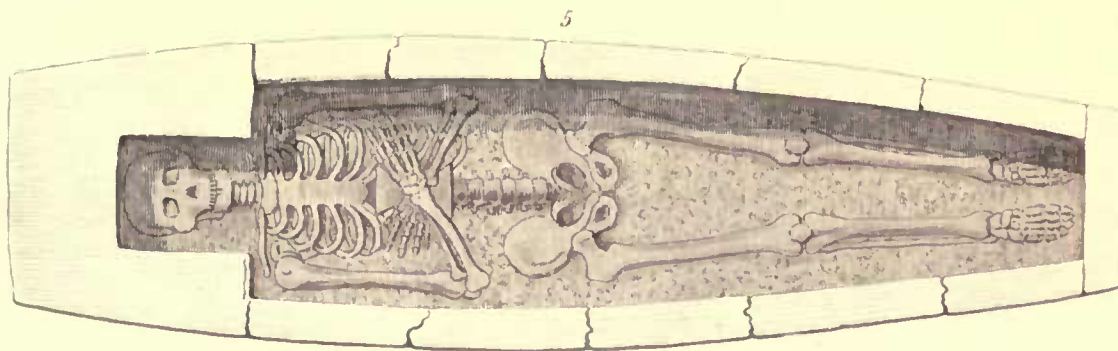
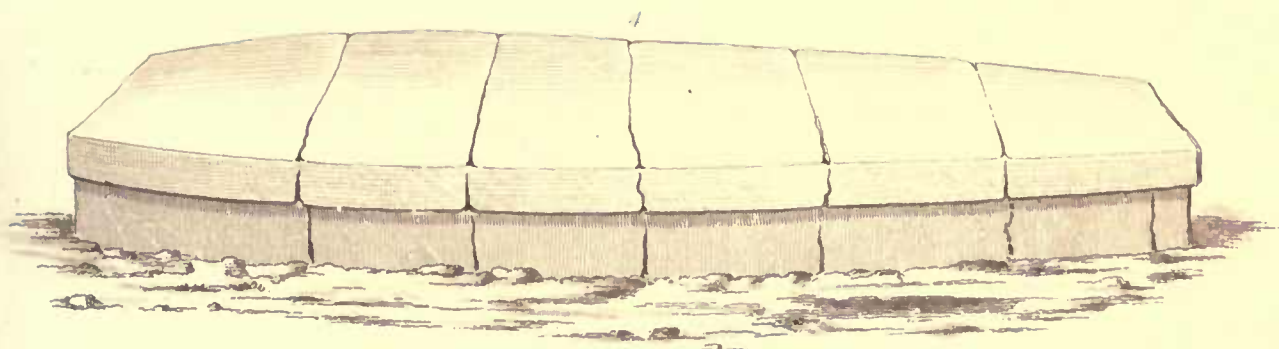
A présent, résumons-nous et concluons :

La matière et la forme de nos cercueils de Bouteilles appartiennent au xi^e et au xii^e siècle, d'après les principes de l'archéologie : leur position sous la gouttière est conforme à l'histoire Normande de ce temps ; l'orientation des corps et le croisement des mains sont dans les prescriptions de la liturgie d'alors ; le métal des croix, leur forme et leur emploi concordent avec ce que nous savons des arts, des traditions et des mœurs de la période Anglo-Normande ; les noms sont eux que l'on portait de Guillaume à Philippe-Auguste ; la monnaie qui accompagne les morts ne peut être reculée au delà du x^e siècle, ni rapprochée en deçà de 1200.

L'histoire ecclésiastique nous montre des clercs illustres, contemporains de saint Bernard, rédigeant, pour leurs amis morts, des formules d'absolution que les rituels ont conservées ; enfin des croix analogues, appartenant au xi^e siècle, ont été trouvées en France et en Angleterre ; d'où je conclus, avec toute la certitude que peut donner la science humaine, que nos tombeaux de Bouteilles appartiennent à la période Anglo-Normande qui va de Guillaume le Conquérant à Richard Cœur-de-Lion. Cette déduction est appuyée également par l'archéologie, l'histoire, la liturgie, la numismatique, et la paléographie.

L'ABBÉ COCHET,

*Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques
de la Seine-Inférieure.*



de la Période Anglo-Normande trouvés à Bouteilles près Dieppe.

1944-45

XXV. *Remarks upon two Original Deeds relating to Sir Thomas Swinford, the son of Catherine Swinford, who was afterwards the wife of John of Gaunt.*
By JOSEPH HUNTER, Esq. Vice-President.

Read 22 Nov. 1855.

I HAVE the pleasure of laying before the Society an Original Deed which makes a trifling addition to the little which is known of Sir Thomas Swinford, the son of Catherine Swinford, whose connection with John of Gaunt, and subsequent marriage to him, make her and her son historical personages of the fifteenth century. It has been found amongst the Evidences of Mr. Wentworth, of Wolley, in Yorkshire.

The document has in itself no remarkable features. It is a conveyance to trustees, of whom Sir Thomas Swinford, Margaret Lady Darcy his wife, and William Swinford their son, are three, by the owner of lands and tenements in the parts of Lincolnshire near to those in which both the Swinford and the Darcy lands lay, that is, near the western border of the county of Lincoln. But it may be more satisfactory to the Society to have a brief abstract of the matter of the Deed.

Thomas Greese, of East Ferry, gentleman, grants to Thomas Swinford knight, Margaret Lady Darcy his wife, and William the son of the said Thomas and Margaret, Robert Kirkham, and Laurence Morgan, all his messuages and tenements, rents and services, with all their appurtenances, in the vills of East Ferry and West Ferry, which descended to him by right of inheritance, together with the reversion of all lands, tenements, rents, and services which William Cutwolf of Owston, and Margaret his wife, hold for term of the life of the said Margaret in dower. Then follow the usual clauses of services and warrantry. The witnesses are Thomas Poge, Esq. Robert Britte, Esq. William Cutwolf, Thomas Belwode, Thomas Grenefeld, and Robert Legett. Dated at East Ferry, on the 6th of May, in the fourth year of King Henry VI. which is A.D. 1426.

The premises are not undeserving of attention since so little is known of the topography of Lincolnshire. The ferry meant is that over the Trent by which

the people of the Isle of Axholm usually passed to the other parts of Lincolnshire, and the deed shows that in those times the two villis had arisen which are now there, and still known as East Ferry and West Ferry, while the ferry itself is known by the name of Kinnard Ferry, and is still much used. Whether the ferry itself passed under the term "appurtenances" is not shown, but the probability seems to be that this valuable property had descended in a family who bore the rare name of Greese.

The document shows, or at least raises a strong probability, that Sir Thomas Swinford, his wife, and son, were living in those parts of Lincolnshire where are Coleby and Ketelthorpe, which pertained to Sir Hugh Swinford, father of Sir Thomas (*Excerpta Historica*, 8vo. 1831, p. 157), and Knaith and other possessions of the family of Darcy, that is, that they lived there in the early years of the reign of King Henry VI.; nor does it appear from any other evidence that Sir Thomas Swinford, though uterine brother of the aspiring house of Beaufort, was ever drawn out of a decent obscurity to take part in public affairs. I believe the exact date of his death has not been discovered, nor is anything known of William the son, or Thomas the brother of William, except the little that Sir Harris Nicolas has brought together in the communication to the *Excerpta Historica* before referred to.

It seems extraordinary that where so little was to be told of Sir Thomas Swinford there should have been no notice taken of his marriage, especially as Sir William Dugdale, and, after him, other writers on the history of the family of Darcy, had told us that a Lady Darcy, the widow of John Lord Darcy, married Sir Thomas Swinford, not stating, however, the singular position in which he stood to the great house of Beaufort. If any doubt remained of the fact this deed would remove it, since she is distinctly called Lady Darcy, and also designated as the wife of Sir Thomas Swinford and mother of William his son. This lady, according to Dugdale, was a daughter of Henry Lord Grey of Wilton, an old baronial house, and had married John Lord Darcy, of another baronial house, who had left her a young and well-endowed widow. A few dates taken from original evidence may serve to show when she became the wife of Sir Thomas Swinford, and, also, that to any other felicities that might belong to her length of days was added. She had become the wife of Lord Darcy about 1397. Lord Darcy received his last summons to parliament in September, the twelfth of Henry IV. and died the 9th of December in the thirteenth year, that is, in Anno Domini 1411, as was found by inquisition taken at Retford on the Saturday next before the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, in the thirteenth of that reign. He left

Philip his son and heir, then aged 14, from which we infer the probable time of the marriage. This Philip died before his mother, leaving two daughters only, who were his co-heirs. I may add, though not material to the purpose of this communication, that another Lady Darcy, namely, Elizabeth, widow of Philip Lord Darcy, and mother of John Lord Darcy, died a few months after her son, namely, the Thursday next after the feast of St. Laurence, in the thirteenth of Henry IV. A.D. 1412, as was found by inquisition at the Castle of Lincoln taken the Saturday next after the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in that thirteenth year, when Philip her grandson, son of John, was found her heir, and aged 14. Margaret the widow of John, and the Lady Darcy of the document before us, was found, by inquisition taken at Morpeth on Monday before the feast of All Saints in the thirty-third of King Henry VI. to have died on the Saturday next after the Ascension of our Lord last past, which would be in the year 1454, when her son, Philip Lord Darcy, was dead, since his two daughters, Lady Strangways and Lady Conyers, were found her cousins and heirs, that is, her grandchildren, the one aged 36 and the other 32.

In the same collection of evidence at Mr. Wentworth's is another deed, in which Sir Thomas Swinford and Margaret Lady Darcy are principal persons concerned. This deed is dated at Ketelthorpe, the 25th of July, in the fifth year of King Henry VI. By this deed Sir John Talbot knight, Lord Talbot and of Furnivall, Sir Ralph Cromwell knight, Lord Cromwell and of Tateshall, Edmund Fitzwilliam esquire, Thomas Pensax esquire, appoint Robert Walshe of Lincoln, or Robert Kirkham, their attorney to deliver to Sir Thomas Swinford knight, and Margaret Lady Darcy his wife, the manor of Ketelthorpe and the advowson of the church of Ketelthorpe, with all its dependencie in Newton, Fenton, Laghterton, Torkesay, and Hardwyk.

XXVI. *On Mortuary Urns found at Stade-on-the-Elbe, and other parts of North Germany, now in the Museum of the Historical Society of Hanover.*
By JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE, Esq. in a Letter to the SECRETARY.

Read June 21, 1855.

DEAR MR. AKERMAN,

London, Nov. 1st, 1855.

Among the many interesting remains of heathendom, which, to the great benefit of comparative Archæology, you have recorded in your work on Saxon Pagandom, none have struck me more than certain vessels and utensils found at Eye in Suffolk, and described by you in Part xi. plate xxii. compared with Part ii. plate iv. As works of art they have not indeed much to recommend them; nor are they valuable for the sake of the material of which they are formed. And yet they are more than commonly remarkable. They are so, not only on account of their comparative rarity in this country, which renders them attractive merely as curiosities; but of their intimate connection with objects identical in form, which have been discovered in various parts of North Germany. You are, no doubt, aware that thousands of urns have been exhumed in that part of the continent within the last two hundred years; but, of them all, none approach more nearly in form to the English than those excavated last year at Stade-on-the-Elbe. A comparison of them with those which you have engraved, and those which we find in the "Saxon Obsequies," and other English works of archæological interest, will, I trust, not be without value for you. It will serve to shew how complete, even in this matter of detail, was the resemblance between the Saxons in England, and those who remained behind in their old seats upon the Elbe.

I regret that I have so few drawings of these urns from Stade to send you: they are merely strays from my commonplace book, and do not even represent the most remarkable of the forms which I have seen. More than eighty vessels,* all

* Nearly a tenth of the whole Collection of urns in the Museum.

of which, without exception, are distinguished by features of interest, are deposited in the Museum of the Historical Society in Hanover, to which they were presented by the clergyman in Stade who assisted at their exhumation; and, could I have anticipated the pleasure of communicating with you upon this subject, I would have furnished myself with specimens, which would have formed a better illustration of the few remarks I have to make. You will see, however, even from these, that there are points of resemblance between the English and German *finds*, which the general character of the interments that have been most commonly noticed in England does not prepare us to expect. I will touch slightly upon some of these.

In the first place the urns at Stade, like those at Eye, were not merely the adjuncts of ordinary burial,—intended to hold either holy water, or (in the case of pagans) the *broth of sacrificial death-meals*.^a They are vessels filled with the calcined bones and ashes of the dead themselves, mortuary urns in the strict sense of the term, containing, besides the remnants of the body, what ornaments and implements the piety of the survivors devoted to the service of the departed. Of these ornaments and implements a certain proportion have suffered by the funeral fire; and those are such as probably were about the person of the dead when consigned to the pile, as buckles, brooches, fibulæ, girdle-plates, buttons, and a profusion of glass beads of a variety of colours. Another portion, however, have not been subject to the action of fire, and were no doubt placed upon the bones, after these had, already been collected into the urns, a practice which has repeatedly come under my notice in other German cemeteries, and for which there is plenty of written evidence in the Norse *Sögur*.

Generally speaking, the ornaments on mortuary urns in the sepulchres of Northern Europe are not of a complicated character. They are for the most part formed by indented lines or figures, dots, and the like, in combinations of the simplest description. These are scratched into the clay with a sharpened stick, a tooth, or some similar instrument. But the urns found at Stade, as well as those from Eye and Little Wilbraham, are what in Germany is called *getrieben*, beaten out or embossed, *en poussetter*,—hammered, we should say, were the material metal instead of clay. The raised parts were, in fact, in the great majority of cases most

^a There has been a good deal of nonsense talked in England about sacrifices and the like. Once for all, let it be known that the sacrificial flesh of the Germans was boiled, not roasted, and was eaten on the spot by those who partook of the sacrifice; which, at stated seasons, the chiefs and kings, if not the whole people, were expected to do. When Hakonr the Good was in bad odour with the Northmen, on suspicion of Christianity, he was made to pass the *broth of boiled horseflesh* under his nostrils, and the people consented to take this as evidence that he had communicated according to the heathen rite.

likely pressed out with the thumb, and finished with a smooth stick, while the sides of the vessel were still moist. Urns of this character are, however, comparatively rare in German interments; for the bumps and knobs, straight and twisted lines, circular and semicircular discs, and other ornaments in high relief, have obviously been very often put on after the vessel itself was completed, and are not parts of the original work: they are consequently very apt to drop off when the vessel is exposed to damp; and, after it is removed from the earth, may be stuck on again with a little thin glue, or fine wet clay, without leaving any trace of disturbance. If any one of the bulges in the Stade urns were broken into, there would be a hole in the side itself: the raised ornaments not being stuck on, but portions of the original urn pressed out.

Again, the ornamental lines which are scratched in, or indented upon, the generality of mortuary urns, are rude productions of the free hand, and are, on this account, always more or less irregular. The principal ornaments, however, upon the urn in plate iv. of your work, is impressed by a rude punch, such as any schoolboy cuts at once out of a piece of smooth wood. It is a common one in urns of the class under consideration: it is found at Wilbraham, on the urns described in the *Hydrotaphia*, and on one at least from Northamptonshire, of which there is a representation in the first volume of the *Collectanea Antiqua* (p. 42). It is also the ornament of one half the urn marked 8 in the accompanying drawings (Plate XXI.): and the very fact that one half the ornament consists of one, the other half of another, pattern, proves how very rude were still the notions of harmony entertained by the potter from whose workshop the Stade urns proceeded. I may observe that this is perhaps the commonest characteristic of Saxon urns from English cemeteries. And yet this is obviously a more advanced stage of culture than that whose productions we see in the rude, ill-ornamented pots of half-baked clay which are so far more numerous in the graves of the Age of Burning. From your plate I infer that the round indentations upon the Eye urn were formed by pressing the tip of the little finger into the moist clay. Very many of the pots discovered at Stade were ornamented in this manner; and in some patterns it is evident that the tip of the thumb was used for a similar purpose. Like designs, executed in a like manner, though not absolutely identical with these, are found upon some of the urns dug up at Nienburg and Wölpe on the Weser, by Lieut.-Gen. the Count Münster, and by myself upon the banks of the Ilmenau, in the principality of Lüneburg,—all of which, amounting to many hundreds, are now to be seen in the Museum of the Historical Society in Hanover. But neither did the General, nor M. von Estorff,

nor I meet with any urns embossed in the manner of those at Eye, at Wilbrāham, and Stade: in all the cases known to us, the ornaments were incised or indented, save in a very few rare and exceptional instances. In three of these a sort of rude half-moon, with the horns turned upwards, was stuck, instead of a handle, upon the urn itself. (Plate XXIII. fig. 10.) In two or three cases there were four or more bumps or knobs applied upon the neck of the vessel: one has twelve small studs, like what used to be called sugarloaf buttons, entirely round the neck.^a One has two large flat discs, about the size of crown pieces, stuck upon the belly of the urn, one upon each side of a wide handle. (Plate XXIII. fig. 6.) I cannot at this moment call to mind any other urns similarly ornamented.

The admixture of incised lines, usually disposed in acute angles, or *vandykes*, with circular indentations inclosed within them, sometimes forming triangular figures, but still more frequently a kind of star (Plate XXI. 5, 7), is common to the Eye and Stade urns, but is rare elsewhere: my own excavations supplied, among upwards of six hundred, no one with ornaments of this class, and Count Münster's (in more than four hundred) very few. They are hardly found in the museums of Berlin and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, nor do I remember any such at Dresden. But I must entreat you to bear in mind that I am citing now from memory only, and without any notes to assist my recollections, so that in this I may possibly be mistaken on the question of degree. Before I leave this question of ornamentation, I must call your attention to two peculiarities more of the Stade urns. In general, as you are aware, the German urns are found covered with a kind of bowl or saucer, so reversed over the neck as to keep the earth from falling upon the bones; and, where this is wanting, its place is mostly supplied by a flat stone. It is this unhappy arrangement which has caused the destruction of so many urns of the finer sort; the cover having been often broken by the weight of the superincumbent earth or stones of the kist, and forced into the neck of the urn, or so driven down upon this as to reduce it entirely to fragments. The usual form of this cover is, as I have said, that of a saucer or bowl: but some are of very large dimensions; and I found one placed over an urn of middling size, which may have been well used for setting cream in a primæval dairy, for it has a diameter of twenty inches. The urns at Stade, instead of this rude plan, are furnished occasionally with covers of their own, duly fitting into their necks, as the covers of our own jugs now do, and ornamented on the top

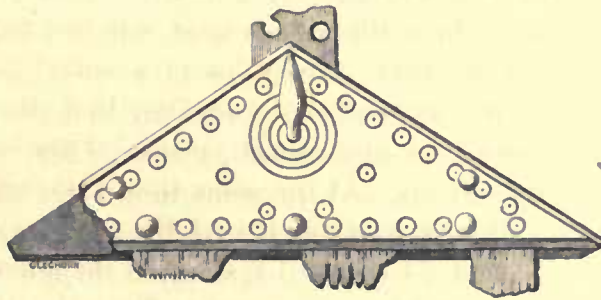
^a Something similar, from Sussex, is found on an urn from the Mantell collection in the Brit. Mus.

with what seem intended to represent the figures of animals, and the like. I have seen a drawing of an urn from Stade (unhappily not in the Hanoverian collection—indeed, I fear no longer in being), which resembles in the closest detail an urn found in Derbyshire, and published in the *Collect. Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 30. Only one of several hundred urns in the Münster collection had this peculiarity, of a cover made to the urn. A second, and perhaps still more observable one, is, that a very few of the Stade urns are so deeply impressed with patterns of a regular quadrangular form, that it almost appeared as if they had been cast in a mould. How the beading upon some of them could be produced, without the application of some sort of matrix, I am totally unable to conjecture. It is only to be accounted for by the supposition that, when the urn had been made, some form, deeply incised, was impressed upon its sides, in regular order, till the whole pattern was completed. And this supposition is confirmed by my having also discovered portions of urns ornamented with regular patterns of so complicated a kind that they could only have been executed by stamping. It would have required whole weeks to execute them by hand, with a graver; nor even then could the lines have been made so hard and sharp as they are. They are something like the labyrinths which, in my very young school days, used to be drawn by boys upon their slates, where the great object was to carry a continuous line unbroken through the innumerable sinuosities of a complicated pattern. But others, on the contrary, are so irregularly regular, that one can only imagine them to have been produced by mechanical means. They are not done with a punch, but with an incised stamp. At the same time this regularity is not the general characteristic of the urns at Stade: on the contrary, they are mostly of very rude execution, so *lopsided* that they very often do not even stand perpendicularly, and have obviously not been produced by the lathe, the feet being rarely quite flat, and, besides this, occasionally ornamented with a cross or other figure incised.* In proportion as the urns decrease in size, do they, for the most part, improve in execution. The clay of them all is of a middling brown colour, rather coarse and soft, mingled as usual with pounded granite or felspar, and very im-

* The bottoms of all these urns, like those in the British Museum, are so imperfectly made, that scarcely one stands really upright. There is no trace of a flat surface; but every base is irregular, probably made in the palm of the hand. There is a curious instance in Von Estorff's "*Heidnische Alterthümer*" (which contains numerous examples of urns and implements found in the Lüneburg district), of an urn bearing the distinct mark of a man's hand on the side. I do not remember this urn myself in his collection, but his draughtsman was in general accurate, and I am pretty sure that the impression was there. The urn, no doubt, was from some cause left *unfinished*.

perfectly burnt, so that, even when the urns are perfectly dried, they require to be handled with great tenderness.

The contents of the urns at Stade, at Eye, and other places in England, supply further points of resemblance which are by no means unimportant. Among those at Stade which seem most interesting, are the bone or ivory combs with triangular heads, pincettes or tweezers, with earpicks, and small scissors, or rather shears, of metal. The combs of Selzen, to which you refer—and to which may be added those of Nordendorf and Fridolfingen—bear, however, no resemblance in form to those of Eye and Stade. They are (like some found under similar circumstances in Kent) either with a straight back like our common combs, or with double teeth like a small-tooth comb, or with a folding case and hinge like a pocket-comb. Those, on the contrary, from Stade, are surmounted with a triangular top, richly ornamented with indented lines and concentric circles of different sizes. I subjoin the figure of one of these combs, in the natural size, and invite you to compare it with that represented in your twenty-second plate. You will see that they are essentially the same.



Like almost all other combs of this period, the back is made of two moveable pieces, between which the small flat plates to which the teeth belong are inserted, the whole being held together by rivets of metal, which are often worked up into parts of the concentric circles of which the ornament nearly always consists, although in the specimen before you the *punched* ornament is interfered with by the rivets, when it happened to come in their way.

And allow me here to observe, *par parenthèse*, that the recurrence of this particular ornament upon articles of bone or horn, at all periods and in almost all places, is very remarkable. You will find it alike upon Egyptian, Etruscan, and Greek relics: upon axeheads of horn taken from the graves which we attribute to

the earliest periods of Northern European culture; upon discs and combs of bone and ivory on the Continent as well as in England, at periods which, though not the earliest, still infinitely transcend our own; upon the implements even of the most savage nations of the Oceanitic race. And as there is nothing in the material itself to define *à priori*, and render as it were necessary, the kind of figure and the style with which it is to be ornamented; but, on the contrary, any description of lines, straight or curved, might with equal facility be scratched upon it, this identity in the taste of times and places so widely apart from one another, becomes a problem exceedingly difficult to solve, and suggests questions to which an answer cannot be very readily given. And it is further worth noticing, that these concentric circles, or circles with a central point, have never, or very rarely, been executed with the free hand: for this they are almost universally too regular; and one sees at once that they have either been stamped with a punch, or produced by some instrument upon the principle of the compasses. There are innumerable instances in which the use of the punch is placed beyond all doubt, by our finding one circle encroaching upon the circumference of another, either from unsteadiness of the workman, or a miscalculation of the room for the figure upon the surface: there are others so large, that a punch would not have sufficed to do the work required, without the application of so much force as must have put the material itself in peril: here we may be well assured a pair of compasses was applied. And I would further remark, that the same mode of ornament by circles with centres, generally diminutive, and forming parts of figures, triangles, squares, and quincunxes, is a not unusual ornament of bronze fibulæ of the flat circular class; as indeed it lies in the nature of the thing itself, that the details of a figure bounded by a circle should consist only of the parts of circles, or circles themselves.

From your Plate I infer that the pincette found at Eye is of iron. I think I have seen accounts of one or two more in England, of that metal. Those discovered at Stade, of which the Hanoverian Museum possesses more than sixty specimens, are all of bronze. In fact, pincettes of iron are so rare in the German museums, that I remember hitherto never to have seen but one, and that one, differing in form from all others that I have seen in any metal, I myself took out of an urn in the Lüneburg heath. Another, I know, is mentioned as occurring in a grave at Sinsheim, with a skeleton: and I may mention a third, which is remarkable, inasmuch as the pincette itself—a very large one—although, as usual, of bronze, has a clasp surrounding it of iron. It was found by Lieut.-Gen. Count Münster, together with the calcined bones of a man and his horse, in

a tumulus at Nienburg on the Weser. And I would also suggest to you, that the occurrence of such clasps, which you will best understand from a drawing of the pincette I now refer to, throws some doubt upon the explanation generally given of these instruments: unless indeed it were meant merely to secure the implement, when not in use, from being damaged, by catching in anything which came in its way.

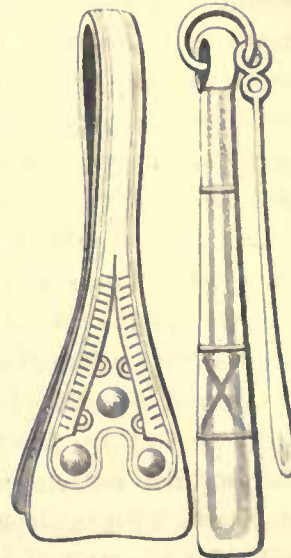
The occurrence of pincettes in Germany is far from rare. They are frequent in urns, and have been found with skeletons, as at Selzen. Though occasionally met with in the interments of men, as for example in the place I have just named, and in the valley of the Eaulne, they are certainly most frequent with the remains of women; and in this case are generally found accompanied by a small bronze knife, and a needle or awl of the same metal. The earlier forms—and I may add, by far the more general—are graceful, and for the most part richly ornamented. The one which I have drawn in the margin (fig. 1) is a fair specimen of this class, and shows the almost universal mode of ornament, one very essential element of which, is the working of the three knobs at the bottom *en répousset*, while all the rest is produced by the graver, more or less regularly applied. Hardly one in a hundred, of those I have seen, is without this peculiar feature. The later forms, to which the specimens from Eye and Stade must be reckoned, are of much simpler character; perhaps among the pincettes at Stade the majority resemble those which occur in Roman sepulchres, were still in use a few years ago, and may possibly still be found on some toilet-tables (fig. 2); but very many are perfectly identical in form with the one in your Plate: they differ in short in nothing but the material; a difference, however, of the utmost importance.

Still more remarkable, in my opinion, are the small shears or scissors of iron found at Eye. The urns at Stade also contained a number of these instruments, of bronze, which, in this size at least, are of very rare occurrence. Not being formed upon

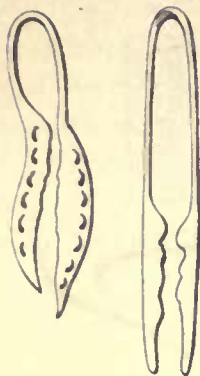


(1)

(2)

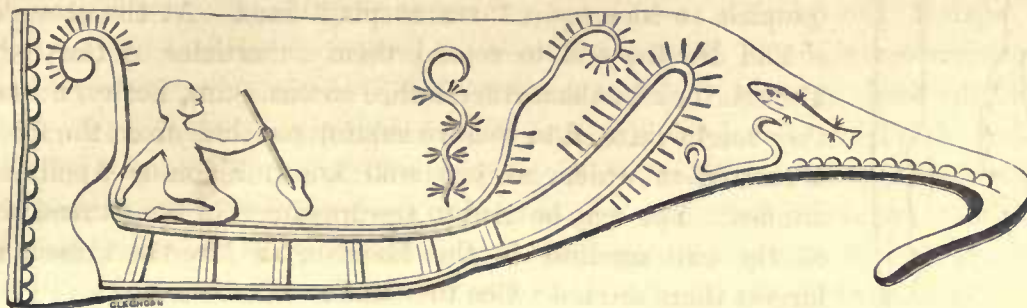


the principle of the lever, but in the same manner as our sheep-shears, these little scissors can hardly have been intended for any common use; indeed, they are often so very diminutive, that one is much tempted to look upon them as playthings. At the utmost, I should be disposed to regard them as articles of the toilet. Though they would neither suffice to cut skins, nor even linen, they might be used to remove superfluous hair from the face—a custom to which, as you well know, Sidonius Apollinaris alludes. You may be glad to see drawings (in the natural size) of the two smallest in the Hanoverian Museum: even the largest there are not twice the size.



The knife in your table presents nothing particularly remarkable to an archæologist familiar with the collections of Northern Germany, except the metal of which it is made. The form in bronze is very common in the districts immediately north and south of the Elbe, especially in Ditmarsh and Holstein. The manner of turning back the tang, so as to form a ring at the end of the handle, is nearly universal in the specimens obtained from those countries. It was no doubt intended to furnish the means of suspending the knife or razor to the girdle; and these knives, although found in the urns of men, are much more usual in those of women, in which they are generally accompanied by a needle and a pincette, both of bronze. Your iron knife was probably never ornamented, or, if it were, oxydation has destroyed all traces of the patterns. The bronze knives of this form are always most elaborately engraved, and it is not without interest that one pattern is almost universal upon them. The figures invariably represent either water—symbolized by curved waves or ships, galleys with oars—much as these have been found represented upon blocks of stone, for which you may consult the *Old Norske Tidingar* of our Copenhagen colleagues. This is the case in the knives of this form found south of the Elbe, as well as those which occur north of that great channel of communication. I am happy to be able to present you the most perfect specimen yet known of such a knife, with its ornament. It forms the leading case, and explains clearly, for the first time, what we have long puzzled ourselves with in these implements. The engraving represents a man paddling in his ship, the true old *Snakr* or *Drakè* of the Northman. Lest any doubt should exist on the subject, fish are introduced, in true Nineveh fashion, to symbolize the water. This splendid and hitherto unique specimen is in the collection of Mr. Blumenbach, a Privy Councillor in Hanover, and son of the great founder of comparative physiology. Mr. Blumenbach has not been able to tell me where this

knife was found, but believes that it came from Ditmarsh or Holstein, and so north of the Elbe. From its form I think this very probable.



You will see from these remarks that an interesting correspondence exists between the articles found at Eye and at Stade. These forms are rare in Germany, as they are in England, and this renders their resemblance the more important and instructive. I believe there is no record of the circumstances under which the Suffolk antiquities were brought to light: those at Stade were deposited in a manner not unusual in the Elbe districts, side by side, in a large hill of sand, which in all probability is a natural one. Out of this hill, called the Perlberg, we have already received about eighty urns, all of characteristic and unusual shapes, and we have reason to expect that many more will be saved and sent to the museum in Hanover. No doubt at least thrice that number have been found incapable of being removed, on account of their ruinous condition. They all contain burnt bones and ashes. The articles found in them, besides those which I have spoken of already, are great quantities of glass and beads, very much injured by the action of fire, as well as fragments of bronze fibulæ, buckles, and clasps, in very considerable numbers. There are also various implements of bone or horn, discs—perhaps tesserae, or draughtsmen, for some game at tables,—and thin short cylindrical staves, whose use it is difficult to divine. All these implements, as well as the urns themselves, belong to a late period of heathendom, and may possibly be of the eighth century. There is a remarkable resemblance between the treatment of the buckles and brooches and that which we find on similar ornaments deposited with skeletons in Kent, in Normandy, and on the Rhine. The interments are most likely contemporary.

When I first wrote to you upon this subject, on my return to England, after a lengthened absence, during which I had no means of consulting any English works on archæology, or keeping pace with the discoveries made here,

I adopted the opinion entertained by some German archæologists, that the urns found at Stade were of Slavonic origin, and consequently that those found at Eye might be so too, inasmuch as there was no valid reason to urge against the possible settlement of some small band of Slavonians on our eastern coasts. The discovery of urns of precisely the same character as that of the Stade ones, in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Northampton, Derby, Sussex, the Isle of Wight, Gloucestershire, and Warwickshire, puts an end at once to this Slavonic hypothesis. These urns, agreeing in form, colour, size, and material, with those found in Germany, are obviously Germanic; and those found in Germany, and so closely agreeing with the English ones, are, by the same comparison, vindicated for the German race. The urns of the "Old Saxon," and those of the "Anglo-Saxon," are in truth identical, as there was every reason to suppose they would be. Keltic they are not, or they would not be found in Lüneburg; Slavonic they are not, or they would not be found in Warwickshire: one only race remains—they are Saxon in the one place as well as the other. The bones are those of men whose tongue we speak, whose blood flows in our veins. I know that I need not point out to an archæologist of your skill and experience what important corollaries derive from this comparison of English and German antiquities; we are brought by it many steps nearer to our forefathers on the banks of the Elbe and its tributary rivers, and we can henceforth use indifferently the discoveries of Englishmen and North Germans for the elucidation of our national treasures. And, as this is so, allow me to put upon record some of the rarer forms of German mortuary urns, as types for comparison, and as an instruction for the English archæologist. I inclose you a group of urns from the districts washed by the Ilmenau, a little river which bisects the great heath plains of Lüneburg. You may rely upon their authenticity, for I took them with my own hands from the repositories where they had rested for at least eleven hundred years; and you may see them, if you will honour the museum of the Historical Society in Hanover with a visit.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. M. KEMBLE.

The Plates contain :—

I. Urns from the Perlberg, near Stade.

II. Urns principally excavated by Count Münster at Nienburg, on the Weser, in the ancient district of Westphalia.

III. Urns excavated by myself in the old territory of the *Ostfali*, and especially in the government district of Oldenstadt, and the villages of Molzen, Oitzen, Oitzendorf, Masendorf, Riestädt, and Ripdorf.

With these are to be compared the urns found in Derbyshire, and described by Professor Henslow in the second vol. of the *Journal of the Archæological Association*; an urn found by Mr. Hillier in the Isle of Wight, described in a late number of the same work; urns figured by Mr. G. Milner, and subsequently by Mr. C. Roach Smith, in the second vol. of the *Collectanea Antiqua*; and, above all, those given in the *Saxon Obsequies* of the Hon. Mr. Neville. But the student will do well to see the dozen or thirteen Saxon urns (in Hanover we have 870!) in the British Museum. You may wish for a description of the urns in the third Plate, and it is reasonable that you should have it.

1. This urn was of a deep red colour, was rather more than 18 inches high, and stood in the earth, between two and three feet deep, under the roots of a larch, which had fed upon the bones within it, and broken it to pieces. It contained a long hair-pin, and a small cup of clay, which, as usual, had never been in the fire, and was filled with nothing but the pure sand, which had silted into the large urn, over the bones. The urn had a cover, as almost all had which, like this, were excavated at Molzen. It had been broken before it was put into the earth, and a large piece of it was wanting in one of the sides, and could not be found by the most accurate and painful search.

2. The largest urn, I believe, yet found, of a form not altogether uncommon in Germany. It lay about four feet deep in a cemetery at Riestädt, surrounded with heavy stones and a kist, which had well nigh crushed it to pieces. The other urns (about 25) in this cemetery were mostly of the same form, but smaller. Two of them only contained anything beside the bones and ashes, namely, in each case a knife, awl, and pincette of bronze. This large pot is ornamented on the under side with lines, apparently intended to represent basket-work. Its dimensions are as follows: height, 10.5 inches; width at the mouth, 14.5 inches; greatest width, 16.25 inches; diameter of the foot, 5 inches.

3. This urn, which is a little more than 19 inches high, was found, like the last described, in a cemetery at Riestädt, a little to the south and west of two magnificent barrows, under a heavy pavement of stones. This upper pavement often extends for

two or three hundred yards in length, and from fifty to sixty in breadth. It generally lies upon the south-west side of barrows, which, when opened, are mostly found to contain nothing beyond a cairn of stones, a small portion of charcoal, and an infinitesimal bit of bronze,—sometimes a little bit of an arm or finger ring, or the point of a dagger, and the like. This large urn was accompanied by five others, of jug and cup shapes, with one large handle, the biggest of which was about 5 inches high. They contained nothing but sand. It had been covered with a flat stone, upon which stood another urn, entirely crushed to pieces by the weight of the superincumbent pavement. There was nothing whatever in it besides the calcined bones and ashes. The kist was most carefully constructed of flat split stones, five or six rows deep, set upon their edge, and closely touching the sides of the urn, which was nevertheless tolerably entire. It fell to pieces after standing several hours in the shade, but has since been carefully repaired, and is quite perfect. Width of foot, 7 inches; of mouth, 12.5 inches; and greatest width of belly, 17.5 inches.

4. A tall, well-shaped urn, with four very diminutive handles put on just below the neck. It was dug up not far from the Elbe by Mr. Einfeldt, the Secretary to the Council of the Historical Society. It is to be observed that sometimes the German urns have not only two or four, but three and five handles, and that these are occasionally so diminutive that nothing thicker than a packthread can be passed through them.

5. Urn found in the level ground at Molzen, due south of a barrow, surrounded with a heavy cairn and well-made kist, and covered with a stone pavement.

6. From a cemetery formed in the level ground, also at Molzen. This urn has one very large handle, and has circular plates or discs applied as an ornament. In a kist of stones.

7. From a cemetery on the slope of a sandhill at Ripdorf, close to the town of Uelzen. It has two handles. The neck, the upper part of the belly, and the foot, are smooth and polished; the middle part of the belly is ornamented by being made perfectly rough.

8. This urn was one of about 120 found in a low but wide barrow, also at Ripdorf, inclosed in kists of stones. They are beautifully hard, perfectly black, have a fine polish, and are of graceful shape. They are very thin, and the dark colour goes through the whole clay, which is mixed with fine powdered felspar. They have mostly one handle, and are richly ornamented with lines and fine dots. Urns of this form are also found in Mecklenburg, but they are among the rarest.

9. From the cemetery at Molzen. It is of a bright red colour but very soft

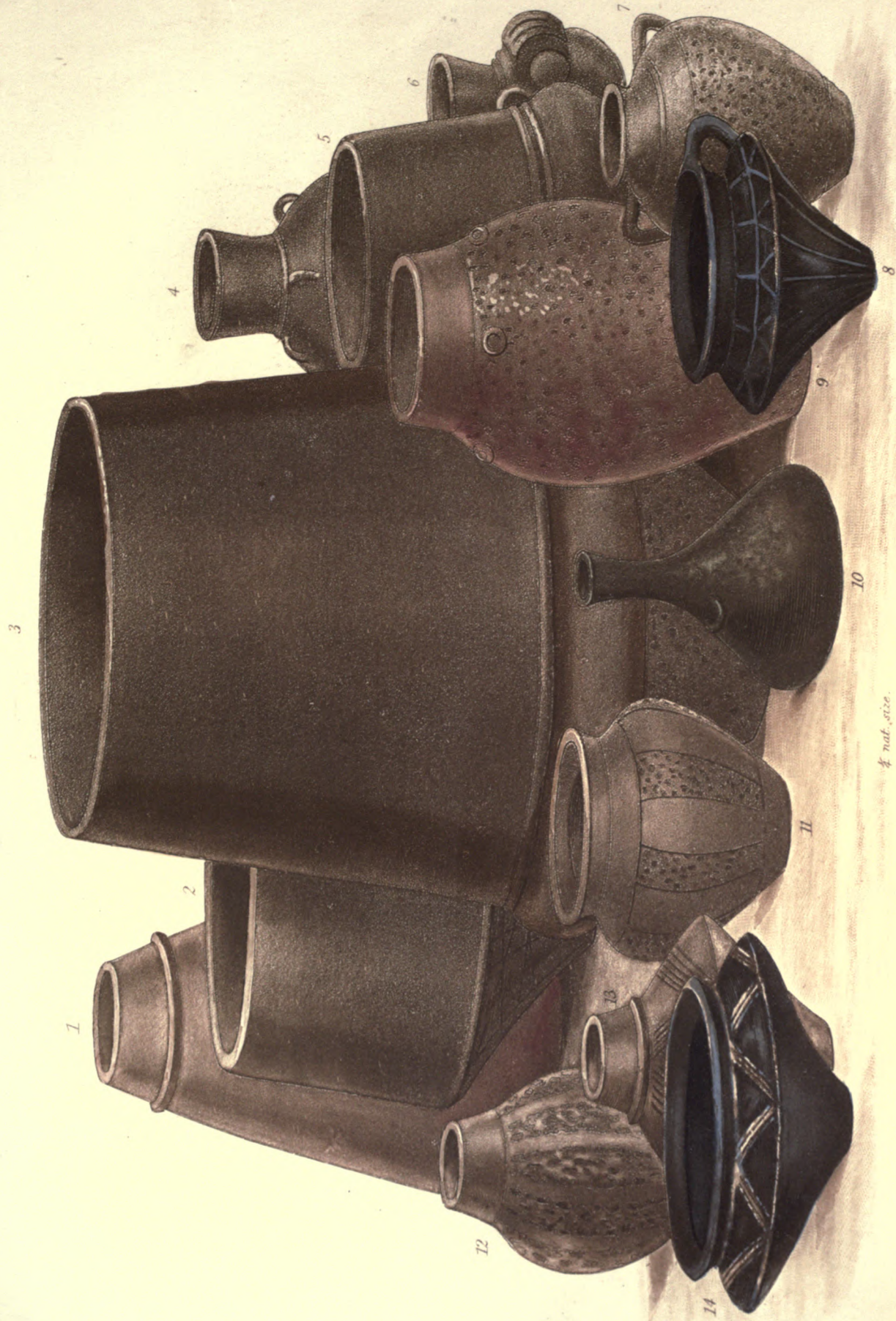


$\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

MORTUARY URNS FROM STADE ON THE ELBE.



MORTUARY URNS FROM HOYA, NIENBURG, WOELPE,
and the Neighbourhood of the WESER.



MORTUARY URNS FROM THE WATERSHED OF THE ILMENAU AND ITS TRIBUTARIES, LUENEBURG.

clay. The neck and foot are smooth, the belly rough, and just below the neck are four small circular discs, stuck on by way of ornament. In a kist of stones.

10. From the same cemetery at Molzen. An urn of the rarest shape, and probably unique. It is of beautifully hard, smooth, polished clay. Upon one side is a half-moon, in strong relief. I found a precisely similar portion of such another vessel in a cemetery at Ripdorf, but could not recover any more of it. There were other urns at Molzen which approached this form, but still were distinguished from it by the colour, the shape, and the fact of having one small handle. In a kist of stones.

11. From a cemetery called the Potberg (Pot-barrow) near the Oitzen mill. In this the urns lay loose in the light sand, nor was there any trace of kists or pavements. In this urn the ornamentation is produced by alternate lines of smooth and rough, six in number.

12. From the cemetery at Molzen. Ornamented with alternate stripes of smooth and rough. In a kist, and under a pavement of stones.

13. From the same cemetery. The ornament here is a sort of collar placed round the neck. The shoulder is also marked with very rude triangular lines.

14. A beautiful urn of smooth, black, polished pottery, from the cemetery at Ripdorf, close to Uelzen. It is the finest specimen I ever saw.

XXVII. *Extracts from the Private Account Book of Sir William More, of Loseley, in Surrey, in the time of Queen Mary and of Queen Elizabeth. Communicated in a Letter from JOHN EVANS, Esq. F.S.A. to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read January 10, 1856.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted,
Dec. 10, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE again the pleasure of sending you a transcript of some of the numerous documents of antiquarian interest preserved in the Muniment Room of Loseley House, near Guildford, for access to which, as on a previous occasion, I am indebted to the kindness of their proprietor, James More Molyneux, Esq. of Loseley, a Fellow of this Society.

The papers which I now transmit to you, for the purpose of their being laid before the Society, are extracted from a MS. book in folio, mostly in the handwriting of Sir William More, whose private account-book it appears originally to have been. The first is an inventory of all the goods in his possession in 1556, and is of considerable interest, as showing not only the contents and furniture of a country gentleman's house at that period, but also the value of each separate article, as appraised by Sir William More himself.

Though the inventory of the whole house was never completed, we have the contents of the hall, the parlour, the children's chamber, Sir William More's own chamber, and the closets of himself and his wife, so that the contents of those rooms are faithfully recorded, which are the most important and instructive in throwing a light on the domestic arrangements and habits of the time of Mary.

The furniture of the hall is excessively scanty and plain, consisting of but a single table and two forms, of the total value of 4s. 6d. In the parlour, however, is a much greater abundance of furniture, as, in addition to the main table, there is the side table and another small table, a chair and six stools with embroidered cushions, besides footstools; while for the decoration of the room we find a portrait of Henry VIII. and hangings of green saye, and, for the amusement of

the family and guests, a pair of virginals, a base lute, and a guitar, with chess and backgammon boards for those not musically inclined. The children's chamber, or nursery as we should call it, is comfortably provided with bedding and nursery requisites, and contains a cupboard, two coffers, and a great wicker hamper, as receptacles for the clothes, &c. The allowance of blankets appears but small, being only one pair to a bed, either in the nursery or the bedroom of the master of the house. The latter room is provided with a walnut-tree bedstead, adorned with green fringe, and having a coverlet of tapestry, a walnut table, chairs and stools, curtains for the windows of green saye, a warming-pan, and, as a ready means of defence against thieves or intruders, a pole-axe. In an inner closet, leading out of this room, are four stills, for the use of the lady of the house.

Sir William More's own closet is so well appointed that it might almost serve for a model for the morning-room of a country squire of the present day. On the walls hang maps of the World, of France, of England, and of Scotland, and a picture of Judith, a little chronicle, and a perpetual almanack in frames. Among the accessories are a globe, a slate to write on, and a counterboard and cast of counters, with which to make calculations and cast accounts, in the manner then in vogue. On the desk are a pair of scales and a set of weights, a pair of scissors, a penknife, a whetstone, a pair of compasses, a foot-rule, a hammer, a seal of many seals, and an inkstand of pewter, with a pounce-box, and pens both of bone and steel. Around the room is a collection of about 120 volumes of books; among them are some of the best chronicles of the time, as Fabyan, Langton, Harding, Carion, &c.; translations from the classics, as well as some in their original language; for magisterial business there are the statutes of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Mary, and all the statutes before, as well as the New Book of Justices, and other legal works; for medical use we find a Book of Physic, the Glass of Health, and a book against the Sweat, as well as a Book of Medicines for Horses; while for lighter reading there are such books as Chaucer, Lydgate, Skelton, and others, not only in English but also in French and Italian; and for religious study, besides a Bible and Testaments in various languages, the *Scala Perfectionis*, *Flores Bibliæ*, &c. The whole catalogue is worthy of attentive perusal by the bibliographical antiquary, and affords the titles of some English works which are not, I believe, at present known.

In the closet of the lady of the house are a few more books, principally of prayers, a large collection of trunks and boxes, a number of glass vessels of various forms and uses, and a few of enamel or china, with trenchers, knives,

shears, graters, snuffers, moulds, brushes, and other miscellaneous properties of a good housewife.

The inventory of plate belonging to Sir William More is appended, and comprises a goodly assortment. It was made out two years subsequently to the other inventory.

Of the size and relative position of the rooms in the house we know nothing, the house of which they formed a part having been pulled down at the time the present Loseley House was built, and probably some of its ornaments and fittings transferred to the new house. It is an account of the expenses of the erection of the present building by Sir William More that is entered in the same book as the inventory, and which likewise I have transcribed, and send you. The building commenced in 1561, and extended over a period of eight years, till 1569, involving an outlay of £1,660 19s. 7½*d.* The account is of interest, as giving the rate of wages of the various artificers, and the prices of various building materials, including the cost of making bricks and burning lime. It likewise furnishes some illustrations of the manners of the time in relation to the payment and treatment of the workmen. We find, for instance, masons engaged by the year, with their meat and drink, and two liveries found them; indeed, meat and drink were provided for nearly all the workmen, except some few employed at a distance from the house, who "found themselves."

I know that some excuse is necessary for not having abridged this account, but it is so difficult to foresee for what purposes it might be consulted, and many things which appear of no general interest so often possess a local interest to those who are the most likely to refer to it, that I thought it better to send it to you in extenso, and leave any abridgement that may be considered advisable to be made by abler hands.

For a description of Loseley House I must refer you to the Preface to Kempe's *Loseley Manuscripts*, 1835, 8vo. and the county historians of Surrey. Suffice it for me to say, that the portion of the house built by Sir William More remains very nearly in the same state now as when he lived there. The lofty hall, the mullioned windows, the panelled walls, and grotesquely-carved chimney-pieces, all carry us back to the early Elizabethan era.

It remains now merely to give some slight account of Sir William More, that, his position and standing being known, a value may be given to documents throwing a light on his domestic life, which they would not otherwise possess: and here I shall again be largely indebted to Mr. Kempe's Preface.

I have hitherto by a slight anachronism called him Sir William More, but he

was not knighted until 1576, when he was dubbed by the Earl of Leicester, in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at Pirford in Surrey, Queen Elizabeth being present. He was born in January, 1520, the eldest of five sons and two daughters of Sir Christopher More of Loseley, twice Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, to whose estates he succeeded in 1549. He represented the borough of Guildford several times in Parliament in the reigns of both Mary and Elizabeth; and, under the latter, was like his father twice Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, and also Vice-Admiral of the latter county, as well as Treasurer and Master of the Swans of Surrey. He married twice; and by his first wife Margaret, the daughter of Ralph Daniel, of Swaffham, Norfolk, had three children; the eldest, George, born in November 1553, and one of the occupants of the children's chamber when this inventory was made. Beside the house at Loseley, Sir William had a house at the Black Friars in London, which had formerly belonged to Sir Thomas Cawarden. His clear yearly income, or "the valewe of his living," arising from landed property, was, as appears from an entry in the book from which the extracts I now send you were made, in 1557, £146 11s. 6d. There are other entries made, showing a gradual increase in the property from time to time, until, in 1567, he held in reversion and in possession to the annual value of £401 5s. 9d., of which, however, but £312 6s. 5d. was in possession; beside which he farmed the ulnage or right of measuring and stamping cloth in Surrey, worth yearly £62. The improvement in the value of the property was partly owing to a judicious exchange of lands, but mainly to the careful attention paid by Sir William to all matters of business, as is amply evidenced by the account-book now before me.

With such an income it seems surprising how he could have borne the expense of building his house, amounting to upwards of £1,600; but it will be found that a number of items carried out as being worth so much in money did in fact cost nothing, being either presents, or stone and timber found on the estate. He must also probably have had some money left him by his father, and was evidently considered a man of good property, as a Privy Seal^a of Queen Mary, levying upon him a sum of £20 by way of benevolence, is preserved at Loseley. Queen Elizabeth took her benevolences from him in kind, having on three^b occasions been a guest, and apparently not always a welcome one, within his walls. Sir William More was, however, in great esteem with the Queen, and on intimate terms with many members of her Court. That he was a man of education, and attached to study, appears from the number of his books, to which he was constantly making addi-

^a Kempe, p. 217.

^b Kempe, p. 265.

tions, as is shown by a much enlarged list made at a subsequent period to that I now send you. This love of books was inherited by his son Sir George More, who in 1604 received the thanks of the University of Oxford for a present of books, accompanied by £40 in money to purchase more.

At the time of the present inventory being made, and the house being built, Sir William (or rather Mr.) More had not attained to the high position in his native county which he afterwards enjoyed, but must be regarded as a country gentleman of good family, and of easy yet not ample means, possessing good taste (as evinced by his house) and some literary acquirements, with good faculties for business of every kind, and a desire to advance himself in the world; and as illustrations of his character, the documents I now send you will, I think, repay perusal, while at the same time they are instructive, as conveying a good idea of the domestic economy and building expenses of the middle of the sixteenth century.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

JOHN EVANS.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

Sec. Soc. Ant., &c. &c. &c.

I.

AN INVENTORIE of all suche GOODS as I WILL^M. MORE, Esquiere, had the 20th day of August, A^o Dñi 1556.

In the haule.		Iřm. one ioyned cheyre	xvj d.
ffyrste one great table	ij s. vj d.	Iřm. footstoles	vij d.
Iřm. one ioyned forme	xx d.	Iřm. a syde-table ioyned	iiij s. iiij d.
Iřm. one lyttle ioyned forme	iiij d.	Iřm. one other lyttle ioyned table	xij d.
Sm ^a iiij ^s vj ^d		Iřm. hangyngs of grene saye ^a	vj s. viij d.
In the parlere.		Iřm. a table ^b of kyng henry theight	xx d.
ffyrst a table of chesnut wt a frame ioyned to		Iřm. a payre of tables ^c	v s.
the same	vj s. viij d.	Iřm. a chessebord wt a sette of chesmen	iiij s.
Iřm. vj ioyned stoles of chesnut	vij s.	Iřm. vj cussyhyns wrowght upon flannell wt red	
		cruell ^d	x s.

^a Saye; a kind of woollen stuff or serge.

^c Tables for playing at backgammon and similar games.

^b Table; picture of King Henry VIII.

^d Cruell; worsted.

Iſm. a payre of crepers ^a	xij d.
Iſm. a fyre forke	xx d.
Iſm. a payre of virgenals	xl s.
Iſm. a base lute	vj s. viij d.
Iſm. a gittorne ^b	viiij s.
Iſm. an old carpet	ij s.
Iſm. a grene carpet of carrys ^c	iiij s. iiiij d.
Sm ^a v li. xj s.	

In the Entrey from the parler to the chambres.

ffyrste one hangyng of blewe saye	xij d.
Sm ^a xij d.	

In the childerns chambre.

ffyrste one bedsted ioyned	x s.
Iſm. one fetherbed w ^t a bolstere	xxvj s. viij d.
Iſm. one mattres of floks	ij s.
Iſm. a coulet of red clothe	xl d.
Iſm. a mantell	xx d.
Iſm. a payre of blankets	xl d.
Iſm. a cradell	xvj d.
Iſm. a pyllowe in the same	ij s.
Iſm. a ioyned Cubbard	ij s.
Iſm. one cofere w ^t a loke	ij s.
Iſm. one other cofer w ^t owt a loke	viiij d.
Iſm. the hangyng of blew saye	ij s.
Iſm. a curtayne of red and yellow saye	iiiij d.
Iſm. a lyttle fyre shovell	viiij d.
Iſm. a great wykere hampere	xij d.
Iſm. ij. lyttle close stoles for childerne	xij d.
Sm ^a lx ^s	

In the chambre wherein I lye.

ffyrst a ioyned bedsted of walnuttre w ^t	
the grene ffreng to the same	xl s.
Iſm. ij. fetherbeds	lxvj s. viij d.
Iſm. one bolstere	vj s. viij d.
Iſm. a canvas fyld w ^t strawe	ij s.
Iſm. a payre of blankets	ij s. viij d.
Iſm. a counterpoynte ^d of tapstree	xiiiij s.
Iſm. ij. pyllows	v s.
Iſm. a square table of walnut tree	vj s.
Iſm. a polaxe	v s.
Iſm. iiij. curtayns for the wyndows	iiij s.
Iſm. v. curtayns of grene saye for the bed	xiiij s. iiiij d.
Iſm. lyttle ioyned chayre	xvj d.
Iſm. one other ioyned chayre	iiij s.
Iſm. iiij ioyned stoles of chesnuttree for women	iiiij s.
Iſm. a payre of andyerns	ij s.
Iſm. a fyre pan	xij d.
Iſm. a payre of tongs	vj d.
Iſm. an yron to rake the fyre	iiiij d.
Iſm. a pan to cou the fyre	iiij s. iiiij d.
Iſm. a warmynge ^e	v s.
Iſm. a lyttle p ^s se to p ^s e clothes	iiiij d.
Iſm. a gardevyance ^f	vj s. viij d.
Iſm. a lyttle close cheyre	vj d.
Sm ^a ix li. xij s. iiiij d.	
Iſm. the lyttle corte w ^t in the same chambre,	
iiij stylys ^g	x s.
Sm ^a x s.	

^a Crepers; andirons or small low irons between the andirons.

^b Gittorne; a cittern or guitar.

^c Carpet of carrys; possibly of kersey (Fr. carisée), or of Cairo (Fr. Cairen, a turkey carpet); carrel is given as fustian by Halliwell; and cary as a kind of coarse cloth, Piers Ploughman, p. 475.

^d Counterpane.

^e Warmynge. Probably a warming-pan, of which article this is I think the earliest recorded notice.

^f Gardevyance. A gardeviand or gardemanger; a chest or bag in which to keep food.

^g Stills.

In myne owne closette, a map of the world	xx s.	Iīm. the byble	x s.
Iīm. a lyttle map of the world	xij d.	Iīm. Sr Thom ^a s Eliots Dictionary	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a map of ffraunce	xx d.	Iīm. a calapyne ^f	v s.
Iīm. a map of England	xx d.	Iīm. all the Statuts of Henry theight	xij s.
Iīm. a map of Scotland	xx d.	Iīm. all the Statuts before	vj s. viij d.
Iīm. a lyttle cronicle in frame	xij d.	Iīm. all the Statuts of Kyng Edward the vj ^t	ij s.
Iīm. a slate to wryte in	iiij s. iiij d.	Iīm. all the Statuts of the Quene	ij s.
Iīm. a ppetuall Kalender in a frame . .	viij d.	Iīm. policronicon	v s.
Iīm. a lyttle ^a of Judythe	iiij d.	Iīm. ffabyans Cronicle	v s.
Iīm. a counterbord ^b of chesnut tree . .	v s.	Iīm. chausore	v s.
Iīm. a ioyned chayre of chesnut tree .	ij s. vj d.	Iīm. a boke of orders of London ^g . . .	xij d.
Iīm. a close cheyre of strawe	vj s. viij d.	Iīm. a boke of papere	xij d.
Iīm. a deske of chesnut tree	ij s. vj d.	Iīm. a boke of Tholomye	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a lyttle other deske to wryte on .	iiij d.	Iīm. the dystrucon of Troye	ij s.
Iīm. a lyttle coffyne ^c of boxes	ij s.	Iīm. the faule of prynces	iiij s.
Iīm. a standyshe ^d of pewter	xvj d.	Iīm. gowre de confessione amantis	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a sette of weyghts	iiij s. iiij d.	Iīm. the Storye of Thucidides	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a lesser sette of weyghts	xij d.	Iīm. a boke of geometrea	xvj d.
Iīm. a payre of ballans	iiij s. iiij d.	Iīm. a ppetuall almynake	viij d.
Iīm. a boxe w ^t a lyttle payre of ballans	vj d.	Iīm. a wrytyng boke of parchment .	ij s. vj d.
Iīm. a globe	iiij d.	Iīm. the old Justice	viij d.
Iīm. ij. toche stones	iiij d.	Iīm. a boke to lerne to wryte by . .	vj d.
Iīm. a dust boxe ^e of bone	viij d.	Iīm. a boke of songs	iiij d.
Iīm. a payre of sesers	ij d.	Iīm. a wrytten boke of pverbs	iiij d.
Iīm. too whetstones	j d.	Iīm. ij. pnosticacions	iiij d.
Iīm. a haere of bone to be made a sele	vj d.	Iīm. a papere boke bounde in past .	vj d.
Iīm. a penne of bone to wryte w ^t . . .	iiij d.	Iīm. tullyes officys translated	viij d.
Iīm. a payre of compasses	ij d.	Iīm. ij. bokes of machevales works, in Italion	iiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. a Sele of many Seles	ij d.	Iīm. the curtesan, in french	xx d.
Iīm. a hamere	ij d.	Iīm. Cato's precepts	iiij d.
Iīm. a penknyf	j d.	Iīm. ij. boks conteyning tully's philosophy	ij s. vj d.
Iīm. a foote rule	j d.	Iīm. ij. lyttle boks of ffrench	viij d.
Iīm. a pene of yron	j d.	Iīm. a newe testament in ffrench . .	xx d.
Iīm. munsters cosmografye	xvj s.		
Iīm. cronica cronicarū	xx s.		

^a Sic in orig. Probably a picture.^b A board on which to cast accounts with jettons or counters.^c Coffyne; a coffin or chest.^e For pounce.^g A boke of the orders of divers matters in London.^d Standyshe; inkstand.^f Calepino's Vocabulary of the Latin Tongue.

(Qy. Arnold's Customs of London) 2nd Catalogue.

Iřm. the Curtesan, in Italian	xij d.	Iřm. the doctor & Student	vij d.
Iřm. a new testament, in Italion	xxj d.	Iřm. a boke of brygements	xvj d.
Iřm. petrark, in Italion	xvj d.	Iřm. a pap boke in past	vij d.
Iřm. an other newe testament, in Italion ij s.	vj d.	Iřm. a boke of land mesuryng	x d.
Iřm. the historye of Argentyne, in Italion	xvj d.	Iřm. hanibal's warrs	xvj d.
Iřm. boccas, in Italion	xvj d.	Iřm. hardyng's cronyele	ij s. vj d.
Iřm. Ovyd's epistles, in Italion	vj d.	Iřm. a newe testament	ij s.
Iřm. an Italion Diccionary	xx d.	Iřm. Scala pfeccionis	xij d.
Iřm. gardanus de mirabilibus	ij s.	Iřm. the tryumph of petrark	vj d.
Iřm. suetoniũ	xij d.	Iřm. a boke of fables	xij d.
Iřm. a newe testament, in lattyn	xij d.	Iřm. the prayse of follye	xij d.
Iřm. Carion ^a	xij d.	Iřm. the Instruccion of a woman	xij d.
Iřm. Tully's offices	x d.	Iřm. the Curteors lyfe	vj d.
Iřm. Cezars Commentarys	xvj d.	Iřm. Utopea	vij d.
Iřm. horace	xij d.	Iřm. Adagis	xij d.
Iřm. a boke of the turk	vj d.	Iřm. Marcus Aurelius	xij d.
Iřm. pallengenũ	xij d.	Iřm. A papere boke	j d.
Iřm. Juvenall	x d.	Iřm. a lyttle cronicle	j d.
Iřm. Vincens Lirinensis	iiij d.	Iřm. Skelton's works	iiij d.
Iřm. Scintille Scripture	vj d.	Iřm. Alexander Severus	vij d.
Iřm. the boke of the spyder & flye	xx d.	Iřm. a tretys of the newe India	vj d.
Iřm. Lanctons Cronicle	ij s.	Iřm. a boke of physyke	iiij d.
Iřm. de ptu hominis	vj d.	Iřm. the glasse of helthe	ij d.
Iřm. flores bibblie	ij s.	Iřm. a boke agaynst the Swette	ij d.
Iřm. Apuleus de asino	xvj d.	Iřm. a boke for the title to Scotland	ij d.
Iřm. physiognomiæ	iiij d.	Iřm. the Comentary of Ladys	j d.
Iřm. Albert de secretis	ij d.	Iřm. for the apparell of women	j d.
Iřm. a boke cauled fflowres gathered owt of Tyrrence ^b	x d.	Iřm. the defense of good women	ij d.
Iřm. mores gentiũ	vij d.	Iřm. a boke of women	j d.
Iřm. perkyns	vij d.	Iřm. a boke of french hods	j d.
Iřm. Lytteltone tenures	vij d.	Iřm. a boke of pverbs	ij d.
Iřm. natura breviũ	vij d.	Iřm. the boke of Codrus	j d.
Iřm. magna Carta	vij d.	Iřm. Lydgats proverbs	j d.
Iřm. an othier magna carta	xij d.	Iřm. Ragman's Role	j d.
Iřm. the new boke of Justies	vj d.	Iřm. the bodge of the Court	j d.
Iřm. the brygements of Statuts	iiij d.	Iřm. the maydens dreamo	j d.
Iřm. a boke of Instruments	vij d.	Iřm. Alexander's barkleys Eglog	j d.
		Iřm. a boke of medsyns for horses	j d.

^a Carion's Chronicle, printed by Walter Lynne, 1550.

^b Flores Terentii ad loquendum Latine.

I tm . Legenda Aurea	.iij s. iiij d.	I tm . a thyke wooden chest	ij s.
I tm . xxv ^{to} H. viij.	ij d.	I tm . a great ioyned chest	.iij s. iiij d.
I tm . a boke of pffyts of the remembrancer's office	—	I tm . a trussying cofere	x s.
I tm . xxvij ^{mo} H. viij.	ij d.	I tm . a fayre deske	xv s.
I tm . xxxiiij ^{to} H. viij	ij d.	I tm . a lyttle cofer bound w ^t yron	.iij s. iiij d.
I tm . a note of wards sold	—	I tm . iiij. little ioyned cofers of chesnut.	iiij s.
I tm . a certificat of the barons deth	—	I tm . ij. hampers	ij s.
I tm . a boke of pcydents	ij d.	I tm . a great casket	iiij s.
I tm . a note for payments of fynes levyde	—	I tm . a lesser casket	ij s. vj d.
I tm . a note of the knights fees in Surrye	—	I tm . a borded capcas ^e	viiij d.
I tm . two pap boke concernyng Shryfs	—	I tm . iiij. workyng baskets	ij s.
I tm . an old boke of Surgery	iiij d.	I tm . a borded capcas	xij d.
I tm . a boke of statuts of H. vij.	xij d.	I tm . a square boxe	ij d.
I tm . an wrytten magna carta	ij d.	I tm . xxv. glassys for waters	v s.
I tm . xxxij ^{do} Henryci viij.	iiij d.	I tm . j. great bottell glasse	vj d.
I tm . a papere boke	—	I tm . a blewe potte for flowers	j d.
I tm . a petigree of the Kyng	j d.	I tm . an ewrynull	j d.
I tm . an old cut mattens boke	—	I tm . a glasse bottell w ^t wycker	ij d.
I tm . a lyttle ballet boke	—	I tm . a glasse w ^t a cou to drynke bere in	viiij d.
I tm . a boke of leches	j d.	I tm . a lyttle pot whyte emayled	iiij d.
I tm . a papere boke in redd fforrell ^a	—	I tm . a glasse ewere gilt	viiij d.
I tm . pt of frosard, in ffrench	ij s.	I tm . a lyttle blewe bereglasse	ij d.
I tm . an old boke of fables	—	I tm . a lyttle bereglasse of whyte and grene	vj d.
I tm . the festyvall	iiij d.	I tm . an other lyttle potte whyte eneyled	ij d.
I tm . a lre of Doctinall	—	I tm . a great Jug coverd w ^t tyne	xij d.
I tm . a great boke of pcydents	—	I tm . iiij. other iugs uncoveryd	vj s. vj d.
I tm . other paps pclemacons & scross ^b knyt to gethers	—	I tm . ij. glasses for conserves	iiij d.
I tm . a lyttle purse w ^t a cast of Counters in hit ij d.	ij d.	I tm . ij. other lyttle glasses	j d.
		I tm . a bere glasse	ij d.
		I tm . a pypkyn	ij d.
		I tm . iiij. lyttle barrels for sukket ^d	ij d.
		I tm . iiij. dosen of round and square trenchers	iiij s.
		I tm . a lyttle boxe for spycs	ij d.
		I tm . an howreglasse	ij d.
		I tm . a grater	xij d.
		I tm . a case of knyves	iiij s. iiij d.
		I tm . a mold for pastree	ij d.

Sm^a xij li. xvij s. vij d.

In my wyfs closet.

ffyrst a ioyned table of chesnut tree	v s.
I tm . an old carpet to the same	xij d.
I tm . a ioyned Cubberd	.iij s. iiij d.

^a Cover of a book.

^b Scrolls.

^c Capcase; a small trunk: "a cappecase for to carrye y^e letters in. Archæol. XXV. 559.

^d Sukket; sweetmeat.

Iīm. iij. Rubbers	iiij d.	Iīm. iij. Juggs of Stone, garnished w ^t Syl ^v & gilt.	
Iīm. a payre of great shers	ij d.	Iīm. a salte gilt, w ^t a Cristall in yt, waynge	
Iīm. a boke de ptu mulieris	ij s. vj d.	28 oz.	
Iīm. the pomeaunder of prayers	iiij d.	Iīm. one othere great gylte salte waynge 20 oz.	
Iīm. iij. other bokes of prayes	vj d.	di. & q ^t .	
Iīm. a lyttle bottell for sweete water	j d.	Iīm. a lesser salte w ^t a Co ^v , gilte, waynge 8 oz.	
Iīm. a combe brushe	ij d.	di. di. q ^t .	
Iīm. an heron brushe	xij d.	Iīm. a lyttle salte, sutable to the same, wayng	
Iīm. a great brushe	iiij d.	2 oz.	
Iīm. a payre of Snuffers	iiij d.	Iīm. a lyttle salt w ^t a Co ^v , gilte, w ^t a lyon	
Iīm. a lyttle glasse for water	j d.	thereon, wayng 4 oz.	
Iīm. iij. glasses lyk chalisys	xij d.	Iīm. another lyttle salte w ^t a Co ^v , gilt, wayng	
Iīm. ij. bole glasses	xvj d.	2 oz.	
Iīm. a glasse bottell colored	ij s.	Iīm. a Castyng bottell, ^a gylte, waynge 4 oz. di.	
Iīm. a glasse ewere	vij d.	q ^t . & di. q ^t .	
Iīm. a great glasse ewere to keepe oyle in	xx d.	Iīm. a bason & an ewer, pcell gylte, poiz. 63 oz.	
Iīm. a lyttle glasse for aqua composita	j d.	Iīm. vj. gret Spones waynge 8 oz.	
Iīm. ij. bere glasses	iiij d.	Iīm. j. other great gylt Spone waynge	
Iīm. a bere glase w ^t a co ^v	xij d.	Iīm. a neste of bowles, whyght, waynge 43 oz.	
Iīm. a ewere of glasse brode	vj d.	Iīm. 4 spones, whyght, waynge 4 oz.	
Iīm. a bottell glasse	vj d.	Iīm. a lyttle cuppe w ^t a Co ^v , whyght, waynge	
Iīm. a bere glasse w ^t ij. handles	iiij d.	5 oz. di. & di. q ^t .	
Iīm. ij. glasses for waters	iiij d.	Iīm. a great Stone Juge garnisht w ^t Syl ^v , whyght, wayng 8 oz. & di.	
		Iīm. a lyttle spone, pcell gilt, wayng 2 oz.	
		Iīm. a neste of bowles w ^t a Co ^v , duble gylt, waynge	
		Iīm. a Spiceboxe, whyght, w ^t a spone waynge	
		Iīm. a tankerd, whyght, waynge	oz.
		Iīm. an othere Tankerd, whyght, waynge	
		Iīm. a lyttle bowle, whyght, waynge	
		Iīm. a payre of potts, gylt, poiz. 82 onz. di.	
		Iīm. ij. cups w ^t ij. co ^v s gilt, poiz. 38 onz. di.	
		Iīm. ij. gilt spones, poiz. 4 onz.	
		Iīm. a gret salt w ^t a co ^v , poiz. 10 onz.	
		Iīm. xij. spones, pcell gilt, poiz.	onz.

A note of my plate 12^{mo} Decembris, A^o 1558.

ffyrste a bason & an Ewere, pcell gylte, waynge
76 oz. & di.
Iīm. a neste of bowles w^t a co^v, pcell gilte,
waynge 82 oz.
Iīm. a dozen of Spones, pcell gilte, waynge
oz. & q^t.
Iīm. iij. bere cups w^t a Covere, duble gilte,
waynge
Iīm. a mawdlen cup w^t a Covere, dubble gilt,
wayng 24 oz. & q^t.

^a A bottle for sprinkling perfumes.

II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXPENSES OF BUILDING LOSELEY HOUSE.

Tymbre bowght and geven, 1561.

fyrste bowght of wynsor my lord mountagew's man fortye lodes	x li. x s.
Iſm. bowght of Brodfold xl. lode at iij s. ij d. the lode	vj li. vj s. viij d.
Iſm. of Chamelere of Ashe for xv. lode	iiij li.
Iſm. of John Peyton j. lode	vj s.
Iſm. of my Cosen hill iij. lode	xv s.
Iſm. of Mr. Lusshere geven me one lode di.	viij s.
Iſm. of Phillyp Mellershe geven me viij. lode	xl s.
Iſm. of Mr. Braye geven me xvj. lode	iiij li.
Iſm. a lode of lathe	xvj s.
Iſm. ij. lode of myne own tymbre	x s.

Sm^a xxix. li. xj s. viij d.

The caryge of the tymbre bowght of wynsor at xx d. the lode	lxvj s. viij d.
The Caryage of the tymt bowght of Brodfold at ij s. iiij d. the lode	iiij li. xiiij s. iiij d.
The caryage of the tymbre bowght of Chamelere at ij s. the lode	xxx s.
Iſm. the caryge of the tymbre bowght of Peyton	xvj d.
Iſm. the caryge of y ^e tymbre bowght of my Cosen hill at ij s. the lode	vj s.
Iſm. the caryge of the tymbre had of Mr. Lussher	xvj d.
Iſm. the caryge of the tymbre had of Phillyp Mellershe at xx d. the lode	xiiij s. iiij d.
Iſm. the caryge of the tymbre had of Mr. Braye at ij s. the lode	xxxij s.
Iſm. the caryge of a lode of lathe	ij s. iiij d.
Iſm. the caryge of my own tymbre ffrom vaspiche	ij s.
Iſm. the other lode at home	iiij d.

Sm^a xij li. viij s. viij d.

ffor makynge of Sawpyts to breke ^a the sayd tymbre	vj s. viij d.
Iſm. to the Sawyers for sawynge the tymbre into borde, quaters, and fframynge tymbre by the Carpynter to be wrowght	xv li. viij s.

Sm^a xv li. xiiij s. viij d.

Iſm. to Shamblere the Carpenter for his werke	iiij li. xix s. x d.
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Sm^a of all my tymbre, sawynge, and workynge of the same from
mydsom 1561 tyll xptmas followynge lxij li. xiiij s. x d.

Iſm. payd to Shamlere y ^e Carpenter, left owt of this booke	xlviij s. x d.
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^a Breke. To cut up: conf. to "break up" a deer.

The chargis of makyng of a Clampe of brycke.

ffyrste payd to the bryckmaker for makyng syxe score thowsand at xvij d. the thowsand w ^t odde thowsands	ix li. ix s. ix d.
I ^{tem} . the makyng and showyng ^a w ^t yron of the mold	ij s. vj d.
I ^{tem} . a hundred lode of wood to burne the same	x li.
I ^{tem} . afterwards xl. lodes more to burne the brycke ageyne bycause hit was not well burnt before	iiij li.
I ^{tem} . the Caryage of sande to the place for makyng thereof	xx s.
I ^{tem} . strawe for the same	xl s.
I ^{tem} . meate & drynke for the brycke makers duryng all the tyme of theyre worke	viiij li.
Sm ^a xxxiiij li. xij s. iiij d.	

The makyng of lyme and lyme bowght.

ffyrste dyggyng of xxx. lode of Chalke	v s.
I ^{tem} . the caryage of the same	x s.
I ^{tem} . the burnyng of the same w ^t my brycke	xxx s.
I ^{tem} . for makyng and burnyng of a kill of lyme and lyme bowght of sondrye psons	vij li.
Sm ^a ix li. v s.	

The dyggyng of Roughe Stone & stone in the quarye at Guldford.

Payd to Dorye, Whyght, Nymes & Brykleton for dyggyng stone syns mychelmas 1560, untill x ^p tmas 1561	xxij li. xij s. xj d. & ob.
I ^{tem} . caryng of xvj. lode of hewyd stone ffrom Guldford to my howse	xxj s. iiij d.
I ^{tem} . the caryng of iiij ^e lode of rowghe stone from the quarrye to my howse	x li.
I ^{tem} . xx. lode of rowghe stone at my howse of old dyggyng	xxvj s. viij d.
Sm ^a xxxvj li. xj d. ob.	

The hewyng of stone for wyndowes, watertables, & coynyng^b stones.

Payd to Mabbanke for hymself & his man for hewyng of stone	xiiij li. xj s. iiij d.
Sm ^a xiiij li. xj s. iiij d.	

Workes done by the masons and laborers.

Payd to the masons for theyre worke	ix li. xj s. j d.
I ^{tem} . to the mortermakers & laborers in caryng of stone & mortar	iiij li.
Sm ^a xiiij li. xj s. j d.	

The Tyle & Tylyng, Tyle pyns, & lathe nayle.

ffyrste tyle pyns iiij. peks	ix d.
lathe nayle	v s. ix d.

^a Shoeing.

^b Corner-stones, or quoins.

tyle vj. M. at ix s. the thowsand	liij s.
I tm . the caryage at xvj d. the lode	vij s.
I tm . the tyler and his man to serve hym	xvij s.
I tm . a boye to pynne tyles & and to helpe w ^t mortar	ij s.

Sm^a iiij li. viij s. vj d.

I tm . nayles & yron worke for the dores & wyndowes	xx s.
I tm . ij. lode of bryke to make a chymney, w ^t the old bryke	x s. viij d.

Sm^a xxx s. viij d.

My whole charge growynge ffrom mychelmas 1560 untill x^ptmas 1561, as well for such buildynge as I made, viz. a bruehowse & y^e stone wall goynge from the same to my mylkehowse, and the stone wale goyng ffrom my stable to the garden, as also my pviçons then had for my buldyng to cum, is clxxix li. v s. iij d. ob.

M^d a wyndowe of stone browght from Blechynglye^a worthe w^t y^e caryage xl s.

My chargis ffrom xptmas 1561 untill the 22 daye of ffebruary 1561.

ffyrste to the sawyers after xx d. the hundred, and a pottell of bere e ^v ye daye	xxv s. iiij d.
I tm . to the Sawyers by the daye, after xj d. the daye to theym both w ^t meate & drynke	xv s. xj d.

Sm^a xlj s. iij d.

I tm . to Shameler the carpyntere and his too men for xxij. dayes, hymself after viij d. y ^e daye, and vj d. eythere of his men	xxxvj s. viij d.
I tm . to Dorye Whyght & Nymes after viij d. the daye, and fynde theymselves, for dyggynge of rowghe stone	lxij s. viij d.
I tm . to Mabbanke the mason and to his man, hymself after x d. the daye, and his man vj d. besyds meate and drinke, for hewynge of stone	xxvj s.
I tm . to a mason that hewyd stone w ^t hym after iij s. iiij d. the weeke, broke & hole, besyds meate & drynke	xij s. iiij d.
I tm . for bordynge of theym durynge that tyme of theyre worke at ffarnh ^m	xxvij s. v d.
I tm . to the mason y ^t cam from Oxford, for his costes in comyng from thens	ij s. iiij d.
I tm . to Mabbanke's man for his costes in fettyng hym from thens	iiij s.
I tm . for mendynge of theyre tooles when they wrowght at Wavleye	ij s. j d.
I tm . for ij. shovels occupied there	xiiij d.
I tm . to certayne laborers there for dyggynge of stone after dy ^v s rates, theyre wagis	xxx s.
I tm . for caryinge of xxviij. lode ffrom Wavley aforesayd, after ij s. the lode, whereof xvij. lode of caryage geven me	lvj s.
I tm . for bordynge of Shameler and his ij. men xxij. dayes aforesayd	xxvij s. vj d.
I tm . for bordynge the sawyers durynge the tyme of theyre worke	xij s.
I tm . to Mabbanke the tylare for ij. dayes xij d., and his labour ij. dayes viij d.	xx d.
I tm . theyre meate and drynke	xvj d.
I tm . for a grynstone	vj s.

^a Probably from Sir T. Cawarden's house.

Item. xl. fathome of base rope	ij s. iiij d.
Item. nayles to make scaffolds	x s.
Item. a lode of ashe pole fette ffrom Wanburrowe Wood, w ^t the caryage	v s.
Item. for fellynge of x. trees in Wanburrowe woode	iiij s.
Item. the caryers meate & drynke for carynge the sayd stone frō Wavley	ix s. iiij d.
Item. iiij ^{or} lode of mortar caryed from Alburye, at vj d. the lode, besyds the caryage beyng worthe ij s. ye lode geven	x s.
Item. the stone fette from Wavley, besyds the caryge & dyggyng, xx d. the lode	xlvi s. viij d.
Sm ^a totalis from Chrystmas 1561 tyll the 22 of february 1561, xxj li. xix s. ix d.	
Sm ^a of the hole from Mych ^s 1560 tyll 22 of february 1561, ccij li. v s. ob.	

The chargys of makyng of my lyme keele, besydes bryke.

ffyrste, to Dyrryke y ^e brykleyer and his man for x. dayes	x s.
Item. theyre bordyng	vij s. iiij d.
Item. to Norryce and his boye for iij. dayes	ij s.
Item. theyre bordyng	ij s.
Item. Mabbanke the mason's man for v. dayes	ij s. j d.
Item. his borde	ij s.
Item. to Thomas Mabbanke the brykleyere for ij. dayes	xij d.
Item. his borde	vij d.
Item. to Mychaell the lyme burne ^r to helpe make the kyll for xxij. dayes	xj s.
Item. his borde all that tyme	ix s.
Item. to ij. laborers to carrye stuf to the masons xj. dayes	vij s. iiij d.
Item. theyre borde	vij s. iiij d.
Item. the caryage of the bryke, to the quantytye of x M., and of whyght stone, to fill the walls w ^t all	x s.
Sm ^a lxij s. v d.	

My chargis ffrom the 22 daye of februarye untyll y^e 28 of marche 1562.

ffyrste to Dorry, Nymes, and Whyght for dyggyng of rowghe stone and chalke to make lyme, 62 dayes amongst theym	xlviij s.
Item. to Mychaell the lyme burnere, for burnyng ij. kills of lyme conteyng 60 quarters, and an 2000 of bryke, after vj d. the day & vij. the nyght y ^t he watched	xv s. iiij d.
Item. to a laborer y ^t helpe him to burn after vj d. y ^e daye & nyght	v s. vj d.
Item. bothe theyre bordynges duryng the tyme of theyre worke, the one xvij. dayes, the other x. dayes	ix s.
Item. to those psons that helpte to bryng chalke to the bryke kyll, and to carye the same away after burnyng, where yt shold be made	vj s. viij d.
Item. xxviij. lode of wood, to burne both kils, as xvj. lode to the fyrst, & xij. for the second, worthe w ^t the caryge & makyng ij s. viij d. the lode	iiij li. xiiij s. viii d.
Item. the caryage of chalke from the place of dyggyng to the kill, for bothe kills, after iiij d. the lode	xij s.

I tm . meate & drynke to the caryers of the chalke	iiij s.
Sum of the chargis of makynge lx. q ^{trs} of lyme & ij M. of bryke, vj li. xix s. j d.	
I tm . for carynge of xxx. lode of sande to make mortere	vj s.
I tm . to the sawyers, after xx d. the hundred and a pottell of bere e ^v ye daye of theyre workynge, for (2000) sawynge	xxxv s.
I tm . for iij. whelebarrows	iiij s.
I tm . for makynge of iiij. dosen of wattels to make scaffolds	viiij s.
I tm . to Shamelere the carpyntere, & his too men; hymself viij d. the daye, and e ^v ye of his men vj d. the daye, for lxxix. dayes amongst theym all	xliij s. viij d.
I tm . to George Udes, carpyntere, after vj d. the daye for xvj. dayes	viiij s.
I tm . to Beldam, carpynter, after v d. the daye for xxij. dayes	ix s. vij d.
I tm . theyre bordynge duryng the sayd days, after iiij d. the daye apece	xxxix s. iiij d.
I tm . to Mabbanke the mason, after x d. the daye for hymself, and v d. the daye for his man, for lv. dayes, by theym bothe wrought	xlj s. ix d.
I tm . to a Stonehewre, after iiij s. iiij d. the weeke, broke and hole, for v. weeks	xvj s. viij d.
I tm . to Dyrrike, mason, after viij d. the daye for xxij. dayes	xiiij s. viij d.
I tm . to Norrys, mason, and his boye, after viij d. the daye both, for xliij. dayes	xiiij s.
I tm . to Cheteyr, mason, after vj d. the daye for iiij. dayes	ij s.
I tm . the bordynge of all the sayde masons duryng all the sayd days at iiij d. the daye apece lijs. viij d.	
I tm . to Mabbanke the mortar maker, after vj d. the daye, for xxj. dayes	x s. vj d.
I tm . to certayne laborers that dyggyd the foundacon, made mortar, caryed stone, and servyd masons, to the nūbre of v. after iiij d. the daye, for cv. dayes	xxxv s.
I tm . the bordynge of the mortermakers and laborers all the said dayes, after iiij d. the day	xliij s.
I tm . the caryge of ij. lodes of stone frome Wavley, after ij s. the lode; w ^t the stone, after xx d. the lode	vij s. viij d.
Sm ^a of my charge ffrom the 22 daye of ffebruary 1561 untill the 28 of march 1562	xxxj li. iiij s. ij d.
Sm ^a of my hole charge from Mychilmas 1560 untyll the sayd 28 of Marche 1562	ccxxxiiij. ix s. ij d. ob.

My chargis ffrom Easter 1562 untyll Whytsontyde folowyng:—

ffyrste to Dorye, Whyght, and Nymes, for dyggyng Rowghe stone and chalke, ffrō Ester to Whytsontyde, after ix d. the daye	lx s. iiij d.
I tm . to Shamelere my Carpynter, after x d. the daye duryng the sayd tyme, besyds his meate & drynke	xiiij s. ij d.
I tm . to hym, for hewynge xxj. lode of tymber in the same tyme	xxx s.
I tm . to v. carpynters workynge w ^t Shamler at se ^v all p ^{ces} duryng the tyme aforesayd of his daye worke, besyds meate & drynke	xlvj s.
I tm . meate & drynke for all the sayd Carpynters, after v d. the daye apece, for cxviij. dayes, amongst theym all	xlix s. ij d.
I tm . to the sawyers, sawynge after xx d. the hundred, and a pottell of bere & brede e ^v ye daye of theyre worke	xx s.

I tm . to ij. other sawyers, after xij d. the daye for vj. dayes, besyds meat & drynke	vj s.
I tm . there meate and drynke for vj. dayes	v s.
I tm . to Mabbanke my mason, after x d. the daye, ffrom Estre to whytsontyde for xxxj. dayes	xxv s. vj d.
I tm . to his man for xxxvij. dayes after v d. the daye	xv s. v d.
I tm . to Jeram the stonehewere for iiij. weekes and ij. dayes, after ij s. iiij d. the weeke xiiij s. viij d.	
I tm . to his man for xxvj. dayes, after iiij d. the daye, for xij. dayes, and ij d. a daye for the reste	vij s. vij d.
I tm . to Dyrrike, after viij d. the daye, for xxviij. dayes	xviij s. viij d.
I tm . to Thomas Mabbank, after vj d. the daye, for xxxiiij. dayes	xvi s.
I tm . to Chetey, after vj d. the daye for xij. dayes	vij s.
I tm . to Bradbryke, Trygge, Smythers, Jelye, Kryspere, and Netter, after iiij d. y ^e day sum of theym, and sum of theym ij d. w ^t a boye after j d. the daye, for ciiij ^{xx} xv. dayes di. lvi s. x d.	
I tm . to Mychaell the lyme burnor, for xiiij. dayes, after vj d. the daye, and steyne nyghts after viij d. the nyght, and his man for xv. dayes, and certeyn nyghts after iiij d. the daye and ij d. the nyght	xix s. iiij d.
I tm . the meate and drynke for the sayd masons and laborers, after v d. the daye for iiij ^e and xl. dayes amongst theym	ix li. iiij s. iiij d.
I tm . for caryage of v. lode of stone ffrom Wavlye, whereof iiij ^{or} lode caryage geven, after ij s. y ^e lode	x s.
I tm . to othere caryers for carynge of rowghe stone and sande and chalke v. dayes, whereof one geven	vij s. iiij d.
I tm . theyre meate and drynke durynge the tyme of theyre caryage	v s. viij d.
I tm . a tyme to carye contynuallye chalke and wood for the lyme kele, rowghe stone, and sand, for xxxvij. dayes, w ^t theyre meate and drynke, after ij s. viij d. the daye	iiij li. xviij s. viij d.
I tm . the v. lode of stone fette from Wavlye, besyds y ^e dyggynge and caryage	vij s. iiij d.
S ^{ma} of the hole xxxvj li. xxiij d.	
S ^{ma} of all my chargis from Mychelmas 1560 untill whytsontyde	
1562	cclxx li. xj s. jd. ob.

My chargis ffrom whytsontyd 1562 untill the xvj. daye of August followynge.

ffyrste, to Shamelere the carpynter for his worke for lv. dayes	xxxvj s. viij d.
I tm . his sonne for lxj. dayes	xxx s. vj d.
I tm . to George Yods for xliij. dayes	xxj s.
I tm . to old Beldam for xliij. dayes	xviij s. vj d.
I tm . to yonge Beldam for xlv. dayes	xxij s. vj d.
I tm . to Shameler's man for xij. dayes	vj s.
S ^{ma} vj li. xiiij s. vij d.	
I tm . theyre bord after v d. the daye for cclviij. dayes	v li. vij s. vj d.
I tm . to the Sawyers for xliij. dayes	xliij s.
I tm . theyre meate and drynke durynge that tyme	xxxvj s. viij d.

Iīm. for the caryage of xv. lode of tymbre from frythynghurst at iij s. the lode, the caryage geven	xl v s.
Iīm. for meate and drynke for the carryers	v s.
Iīm. to Matchwyke for ij. lode of harte lathe, ^a browght to my howse, for the w ^{ch} was payd xx s., the rest geven	xxxiiij s.
Iīm. to the sawyers for sawynge in Wanburrowe wood, fyndynge theym selfs	xij s.
Iīm. for the carynge of v. lodes of stone from Wavly, at ijs. viij d. the lode, all w ^{ch} was geven me	xiiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. for v. lodes of poles pyld w ^t the caryage, the poles and caryage geven me, and nothyng payd for the same, but onely for the fellyng and pyllynge, and monye geven in reward, iij s. iiij d. worth the lode w ^t the caryage v s.	xxv s.
Iīm. for Tymbre trees bowght of wynsore, out of Wanburrowe wood, to the nūbre of tenne, at viij s. the ocke	iiij li.
Iīm. xiiij. lodes of woode at xiiij d. the lode	xv s. ij d.
Iīm. for a pece of oke to make pyns	ij s.
Iīm. to Mabbanke the mason, and his man, for lj. dayes worke, the one x d., the other v d. a daye	iiij li. iij s. ix d.
Iīm. to Richard Dyrryke, and his brother Androo, for xxxij. dayes the pece, after viij d. the daye	xlij s. viij d.
Iīm. to Dyrryke's man for xij. dayes, after v d. the daye	v s.
Iīm. to Redknappe for l. dayes, after viij d. the daye	xxxiiij s. iiij d.
Iīm. to his boye for xlvij. dayes, after iij d. the daye	xj s. ix d.
Iīm. to Cheteyr for xxiiij. dayes, after vj d. the daye	xij s.
Iīm. to Mabbanke the brykleyere, for xxxix. dayes, after vj d. the daye	xix s. vj d.
Iīm. to Hooke, for v. dayes, after vj d. the daye	ij s. vj d.
Iīm. to Wyfold, iij. dayes, after ix d. the daye	ij s. iiij d.
Iīm. to Crawks, for j. daye, after vij d. the daye	vij d.
Iīm. to iiij ^{or} laborers to serve y ^e sayd masons and to make mortar, after iiij d. a daye the pece, for lxj. dayes, amongst theym	iiij li. xvj d.
Iīm. to a boye to carye mortar, after j d. the daye, for xvj. dayes	xvj d.
Iīm. to one other laborer, after xvij d. the weeke, for v. weeks	vij s. iiij d.
Iīm. to too masons more, for viij. dayes, after vj d. the daye the pece	vij s.
Iīm. for the meat & drynke of all the sayd masons & laborers duryng all the sayd tyme of theyre worke, beyng vclviij. dayes, amongst theym, after v d. the daye	xj li. xij s. vj d.
Iīm. to iiij ^{or} dyggers of rowghe stone, after ix d. the daye, fyndyng theymselves, for xvij. dayes di. amongst theym	lv s. ij d.
Iīm. for dyggyng of Chalke for the kyll	vij s. vij d.
Iīm. for makynge iiij ^{or} pytts in Wanburrowe woode to sawe in	iiij s.
Iīm. for taylynge ^b of xiiij. lode of woode & di. for the kyll	iiij s. x d.
Sm ^a totalis, lvij li. viij s. viij d.	

^a Harte lathe; laths made from the heart of the tree.^b Taylynge; cutting to pieces (Fr. *tailler*).

I^m. to Mychaell the lyme burn^o, for hymself, after vij d. the daye and vij d. the nyght; his man
 iiij d. the daye and ij d. the nyght, for lvj. dayes and xij. nyghts, betwen theym xxxiiij s. viij d.
 I^m. theyre meate and drynke durynge that tyme, after v d. the daye . . . xxiiij s. iiij d.

My charges from the xvjth daye of August untill the xxiiijth of Decembre 1562.

ffyrste to Shameler the carpenter, for iiij^{xx} xv. dayes, after viij d. the daye . . . iij li. iij s. iiij d.
 I^m. to his sonne for iiij^{xx} xvij. dayes, after vj d. the daye xlviij s. vj d.
 I^m. to Shameler's boye, for xij. dayes, after iij d. the daye iij s.
 I^m. to old Beldam, for iiij^{xx} iij dayes, after v d. the daye xxxiiij s. viij d.
 I^m. to yonge Beldam, for iiij^{xx} iiij^{or} dayes, after vj d. the daye xliij s.
 I^m. to George Yodes, for xxxviij. dayes, after vj d. the daye xix s.
 I^m. to an other carpynter for xiiij. dayes, after vj d. the daye viij s.
 I^m. theyre meate for iiij^c xxiiij. dayes, after v d. the day amongst theym apece viij li. xvj s. iij d.

Sm^a xix li. xij s. viij d.

I^m. to too sawyers for xv. dayes the pece, after xj d. the day between theym . . . xiiij s. ix d.
 I^m. theyre meate and drynke for xxx. dayes betwene theym, after v d. the daye . . . xij s. vj d.

Sm^a xxvj. iij d.

I^m. to Mabbanke the ffreemason, for iiij^{xx} xij. dayes, after xij d. the daye . . . iij li. xvj s. viij d.
 I^m. to hym, for xvj. dayes more, after the rate aforesayd xiiij s. iiij d.
 I^m. to hym, for his man, after v d. the daye, for iiij^{xx} xviiij. dayes xl s. x d.
 I^m. to hym, for vj. dayes, after the sayd rate ij s. vj d.
 I^m. to Wyfolde, a ffreemason, after ix d. the daye, for lx. dayes xlvs.
 I^m. to Andro Dyrreke, brykleyer, after viij d. the daye, for xliij. dayes xxviij s.
 I^m. to Rychard Dyrreke, brykleyer, after viij d. the daye, for xvj. dayes x s. viij d.
 I^m. to Mabbanke the brykleyer, after vj d. the daye, for lxxv. dayes xxxviij s. vj d.
 I^m. Robt. Crawks, brykleyer and tyler, after vij d. the daye, for xxx. dayes . . . xvij s. vj d.
 I^m. to Chetey, brykleyer, after vj d. the daye, for vj. dayes iij s.
 I^m. to Hoke, brykleyre, after vj d. the daye, for vj. dayes iij s.
 I^m. to Boylet, tylere, after vj d. the daye, for xxxiiij. dayes, in tylynge and stone leyng . . . xvij s.
 I^m. to Cowpere, after vj. the daye, for x. dayes v s.
 I^m. to one other stone leyere for x. dayes, after v d. the day iiij s. ij d.
 I^m. the meate and drynke for all the sayd Masons for v^c and j. daye amongst theym, after v d.
 the daye x li. viij s. ix d.

Sm^a xxv li. xij s. xj d.

I^m. to viij. laborers, after iiij d. the daye apece, for iiij^c xliij. dayes vij li. vij s. iiij d.
 I^m. to a boye, after xvj d. the weeke for xxviij. dayes vj s. ij d.
 I^m. to one other laborer, after iij d. the daye for xiiij. dayes iij s. vj d.
 I^m. the meate and drynke for all the sayd laborers for iiij^c iiij^{xx} iiij^{or} dayes amongst theym, after
 v d. the daye apece x li. xx d.

Sm^a xvij li. xviiij s. viij d.

I^m. to Dorye the stone dyggere, after x d. the daye, for xxxiiij. dayes dyggynge of stone
 and chalke xxviij s. vj d.

Item. to Crockford, Gellye, nnd Cotes, after ix d. the daye apece, for dyggynge stone and chalke, iiij^{xx} and v. dayes lxiiij s. ix d.

Item. to Dorye, for ix. dayes dyggynge, after x d. the daye vij d. vj d.

Sm^a iiij li. xviiij s. ix d.

Item. to Mychaell the tyle maker and lyme burner, for xxxvj. dayes, after vij d. the daye xxj s.

Item. to hym and his boye, for viij. nyghts burnynge ij kylls of tyle, after vij d. hymselfe and ij d. his boye vj s.

Item. to hym and his boye, after vij d. the daye hymself, and iiij d. the daye hys boye, for x. dayes ix s. ij d.

Item. to Mychaell, upon the lyke rate, for burnynge of lyme xj. dayes x s. j d.

Item. to hym, for v. nyghts ij s. xj d.

Item. to his boye, for xj. dayes iiij s. viij d.

Item. his boye, for v. nyghts x d.

Item. his boye, for xvij. days turnynge of tyle, &c. v s. viij d.

Item. to his boye, for xv. dayes v s.

Item. for bothe theyre meate and drynke, duryng l. dayes between theym, after x d. the daye for theym bothe xlj s. viij d.

Sm^a v li. vj s.

Sm^a totalis from the xvjth daye of August 1562 till Chrystmas followynge

lxxvij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

Sm^a of all my charges frō Mychelmas 1560 untill Chrystmas 1562 ccccv li. xiiij s. ob.

Whereof in tymbere

Item. in caryage of the same

Item. Sawynge of the same xxvij li. x d.

Item. the Carpynters worke liiij li. xij s. vj d.

Item. in Masonrye worke and stone leyng iiij^{xxv} li. xj s. x d.

Item. the Laborers to theym xlvj li. vij d.

Item. in bryke xxxlv li. xv s. v d.

Item. in Rowghe stone

Item. in hewen stone

Item. in caryage

Item. in lyme

Item. my charges from Mydsomⁿ 1563 untill Mydsomⁿ 1566.

ffyrst, In lyme, viij. kylls, after xv s. a kill the burnynge vj li.

Item. wood, after xvj. lodes to e^ye kyll, after ij s. vj d. the lode xvj li.

Item. the dyggynge and caryage of Chalke to the same; vz. xv. lode to e^ye kyll, after viij d. the lode iiij li.

Sm^a xxvj li.

Item. for the dyggynge of v^e lxij. lodes, after viij d. the lode of Rowghe Stone xviiij li. xiiij s. viij d.

Item. the caryage of the same, after vj d. the lode xiiij li. xij d.

Sm^a xxxij li. xv s. viij d.

I tm . for caryage of xij. lodes of Stone from halfpenye lane, to make steps and coynes . . .	xx s.
I tm . for caryage of stone from Hascombe, to make pyllors and coynes, beyng xv. lode, after ij s. vj d. the lode	xxxvij s. vj d.
I tm . for dyggyng of the same stone at Hascombe	xvij s.
Sm ^a iij li. xv s. vj d.	
I tm . for the dyggyng and caryage of CCC. lodes of sande to make the mortre, after iij d. the lode	v li.
To the masons, after vj d. the daye and iij d. alowed for theyre meat and drynke, e ^v ye one by the daye	xx li. xvj s.
To the laborers for s ^v ing of the masons after iij d. the daye for theyr wages, and iij d. the daye for theyre meat and drinke	xij li. xiiij s. viij d.
To Gyllane, a free mason, for his yers wages	iij li.
ffor his meate and drynke, after iij d. the daye	vj li.
for his too ly ^v ves	xx s.
for certeyne tooles bowght for h ^y	v s. x d.
To Perowe for his wagis, too yers, after iij li. x s. the yere	ix li.
ffor his Ly ^v yes	xl s.
ffor his meate and drynke	xij li.
To Brykleton, one other mason, but entred to lere ^a for his wagis, for one yere	xxxiiij s. iij d.
for his Ly ^v ye	xiiij s. iij d.
for his meat and drynke	vj li.
To one frencheman that hewed stone xxvij. dayes, his wagis	xiiij s.
his meat and drynke	ix s. iij d.
I tm . the caryage of x. lode of Stone from Gatton	iij li. vjs. viij d.
I tm . the p ^{ce} of the same stone at the quarrye, after ij s. the lode the dyggyng and scaplyng ^b . . .	x s.
I tm . the hyryng of the quarrye at Guldford, ij. yers	liij s. iij d.
To the Smythe for battryng of the masons tooles, makyng of the sellers wyndowes, loks and henges for dores, makyng of all the masons tooles that s ^v yd me by the yere, w ^t the yron by hym found	xvij li.
To the carpenters for stantasyng ^c the walls of the newe buttrye and the lyttle chamb ⁹ by hyt, the framynge of postes to bere the hole frame in the lardere, and the makyng of the centers to bere the vawls, w ^t theyre meate and drynke, after iij d. a man by the daye	vij li. iij s. iij d.
To the sawyers for sawynge of the centers, sawynge of borde, and other tymb ⁹ , after vj d. a pece by the daye, and iij d. a pece for theyre meat and drynke	v li. ij s. iij d.
To the glasyere, after vj d. the daye, and iij d. for his meat e ^v ye daye	xvj s.
To the tyle burn ⁹ , as the glasyer, w ^t vij d. the nyght when he watchyth	xl s. viij d.
I tm . too lodes of hart lathe	xxxiiij s.
I tm . Lathe nayle	xx s.

^a To learn ; a sort of apprentice ?

^b Scaplyng; to scapple to rough-hew stones.

^c Stantasyng; shoring, propping ? (Fr. *etançonner*).

Item. other nayle for dyvse purpose xxv s.
 Item. the tymb^o to make the centers and postes, &c. 1 s.

Sm^a Cxxv li. xij s. x d.

Sm^a totalis from Mydsom^l 1563 untill

Mydsom^l 1566 . ciiij^{xx} viij li. v s.

Item. my charges from Mydsom^l 1566 untill Mychylmas 1567.

To the lyme burn^o for the burnyge of xij. kylls after xv s. the kyll ix li.
 Item. woode after xvj. lodes to evye kyll, after ij s. vj d. ye lode xxiiij li.
 Item. for caryage and dyggynge of Chalke to the same, vz. xv. lode to evy kyll, after viij d. the lode
 vj li.

Sm^a xxxix li.

Item. for the caryage and dyggynge of iiij^e xl. lodes of sande to make mortar, after iiij d. the lode
 vij li. vj s. viij d.

Sm^a vij li. vj s. viij d.

Item. for dyggynge of whyght stone, after vj d. the lode, and after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theym-
 selves viij li. vj s. iiij d.

Item. the caryage of the sayd stone from the quarry of Guldeford, after x d. the lode, ccc. lode xij li. x s.

Item. the rent of the quarry for too yers, after xx s. by the yere xl s.

Sm^a xxij li. xvj s. viij d.

Item. for dyggynge of Rowghe stone, after vj d. the lode, and after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theym-
 selves xxiiij li. xiiij d.

Item. for the caryage of the sayd stone, after vj d. the lode, ix^e xxiiij. lode xxiiij li. xiiij d.

Sm^a xlvj li. ij s. iiij d.

Item. for vj. lodes of stone fette from Gatton, after vj s. for evye lode xxxvj s.

Item. for the caryage of the same, after vj s. iiij d. for evye lode xxxviij s.

Sm^a iij li. xiiij s.

Item. for xxiiij. lodes of whyghte stone fette from Wavleye, after iiij s. the lode there iiij li. xvj s.

Item. the Caryage of the same, after ij s. viij d. for evye lode iij li. vj s.

Sm^a viij li. ij s.

Item. xiiij. lodes of Asheler fette from the fryers in Guldeford, after v s. the lode iij li. x s.

Item. the caryage of evye lode after viij d. the lode ix s. iiij d.

Sm^a iij li. xix s. iiij d.

Item. too lodes of Mesthame stone fette from Merrow, w^t the Caryage xiiij s. iiij d.

Sm^a xiiij s. iiij d.

Item. iiij^{or} lodes of hethe stone from Godalmynge, hewen, w^t the caryage x s.

Sm^a x s.

Item for dyggynge of stone at halfpennye lane xxxij s. xd.

Item. the caryage of xxx. lode from thens xxx s.

Sm^a iij li. ij s. x d.

I ^m . for dyggyng stone at Hameldon	xiiij s. iiij d.
I ^m . the caryage of the same	xiiij s.
	Sm ^a xxvij s. iiij d.
I ^m . for dyggyng of the stone I had at Wavlye owt of the rubyshe	xx s.
	Sm ^a xx s.
I ^m . to the stone leyers, after sondrye prices, besydes theyre meate and drynke	xix li. vj s. xj d.
	Sm ^a xix li. vj s. xj d.
I ^m . for theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one wt an other	xiiij li. viij s. vj d.
	Sm ^a xiiij li. viij s. vj d.
I ^m . to the Laborers to serve the leyers, after sondrye prices by the daye, besydes theyre meat and drynke	xx li. ix s. ij d.
I ^m . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one wt an other	xxviij li. x s.
	Sm ^a xlvij li. xix s. ij d.
I ^m . to the ffreemasons and hewers of stone, after sondrye prices by the daye	xxvij li. iij s. iiij d.
I ^m . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye	xxx li.
	Sm ^a lvij li. ij s. iiij d.
I ^m . for tymbere bowght, after sondrye prices, vz. v. lodes from Wytleyghe, xx. lode from Frythynhurst, ij. lodes from Catteshull, vij. lodes from Goseden, v. lode from Wanburrow, vj. lodes at Loselye, too lodes from Alfold, viij. lodes from Shyllynglye	xij li. vj s. viij d.
I ^m . for the caryage of the same	vj li.
	Sm ^a xvij li. vj s. viij d.
I ^m . for the sawynge of the same by the daye	ix li. xvj s.
I ^m . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye	vj li. x s.
	Sm ^a xvj li. vj s.
I ^m . to the Carpenters by the daye, after sondrye pryces, for framyng the sayd tymbere, besydes theyre meate and drynke	x li. vij s.
I ^m . for theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. by the daye	viij li.
	Sm ^a xvij li. vij s.
I ^m . to the smythe for batterynge of Toles for the masons, and for Iron werke for the dores and wyndowes, ov and besydes Iron bowght at the forge and Iron of myne own, after x s. c. workyng	xvj li. ij s. viij d.
I ^m . myne own Irne	ls.
I ^m . bowght at the forge after viij li. x. the tonne	x li. xij s. vj d.
	Sm ^a xxix li. v s. ij d.
I ^m . for wattels, ix. dosen	xxxvj s.
I ^m . Scafolde poles, xvj. lodes	xlvj s.
I ^m . bastyng lyne for the scaffolds	iiij s. iiij d.
I ^m . great nayles for the scaffolds	xij s.
I ^m . other nayles for the hodes and tubbs	ix s.
	Sm ^a v li. vj s. iiij d.

Itm. planche borde after iij s. iiij d. the c. delyved at my howse from sondrye psons, vz. from my cosen Jonys iij^e, from James Hirste M., from hym also iij^e, from baller M., from my brother Scarlet ij M. iij^m vij^e—vij li. xvj s. viij d.

Itm. for a M. of borde of Ashe, after iij s. the c. xl s.

Sm^a ix li. xvj s. viij d.

Sm^a of my charges from mydsomⁿ 1566 untill Mychelmas

1567 ccclxxiiij li. xix s. iij d.

Totalis 968 li. 17 s. 3 d. ob.

Itm. my charges from Mychelmas 1567 untill Whytsontyde 1568.

To the lyme burnere for burnynge ix. kylls of lyme, after xv s. the kyll vj li. xv s.

Itm. woode after xvj. lode to evye kyll, after ij s. vj d. for evye lode xviiij li.

Itm. for caryage and dyggyng of chalke for the sayd kylls, after xv. lode to evye kyll, after viij d. y^e lode iij li. x s.

Sm^a xxix li. v s.

Itm. for caryage and dyggyng of iij^e l. lode of sande, after iij d. y^e lode iij li. xvj s. viij d.

Sm^a iij li. xvj s. viij d.

Itm. for dyggyng of whyt stone, after vj d. the lode and viij d. the daye, fyndynge theymselves

xij li. x s.

Itm. for the caryage of the sayde stone from the quarrye of Guldeforde, after x d. the lode, beyng

iiij^e xxx. lode xvij li. xviiij s. iij d.

Itm. the rent of the quarrye for half a year, after xx s. the yere x s.

Sm^a xxx li. xviiij s. iij d.

Itm. for dyggyng of rowghe stone, after vj d. the lode, beyng cclx. lodes viij li. x s.

Itm. the caryage of the same, after vj d. the lode viij li. x s.

Sm^a xvij li.

Itm. for dyggyng stone at halfpennye lane, after xvj d. the lode, and after viij d. the daye, fyndynge theymselves xxj s. iij d.

Itm. the caryage of the same, after xij d. the lode xvj s.

Sm^a xxxvij s. iij d.

Itm. for xv. lode of whyghte stone fette from Wavleye, after iij s. the lode there iij li.

Itm. the caryage of the same, after ij s. viij d. for evye lode xl s.

Itm. for dyggyng of the same stone owt of the Rubbyshe xij s.

Sm^a v li. xij s.

Itm. the makynge and burnynge of xiiij M. of brycke, and burnynge iij. lode of lyme, at evye kyll, beyng too kylls, w^t the wood to the same vj li.

Sm^a vj li.

Itm. to the stone leyers, after vj d. the daye, besydes meate and drynke, and v d. the daye

xiiij li. xviiij s. vj d.

Itm. theyre meat and drynke, after iij d. the daye, one w^t another x li. viij s.

Sm^a xxiiij li. vj s. vj d.

I ^m . to Laborers to ſve the masons after ſondrye p ^{ces} , beſyde theyre meate and drynke .	x li.
I ^m . theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one w ^t another .	xij li. xiiij s. iiij d.
Sm ^a xxij li. xiiij s. iiij d.	
I ^m . to the freemasons and hewers of ſtone, after ſondrye pryces, by the daye	xxiiij li. xvj s.
I ^m . theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye, one w ^t an othere .	xx li.
Sm ^a xliij li. xvj s.	
I ^m . in tymbere w ^t the carriage, x. lodes .	iiij li. vj s. viij d.
Sm ^a iiij li. vj s. viij d.	
I ^m . for the ſawynge of the ſame, and othere tymbere, by the daye, after xij d. the daye, to bothe the ſawyers, beſydes meat and drynke .	xxxij s.
I ^m . to theym, theyre meat and drinke, after iiij d. the daye apece .	xxj s. iiij d.
Sm ^a liij s. iiij d.	
I ^m . to the Carpenters, by the daye, after ſondrye pryces, beſides meat and drynke	vj li. vij s.
I ^m . for theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye .	iiij li. xvij s. iiij d.
Sm ^a xj li. v s. iiij d.	
I ^m . to the Smythe, for batterynge of tooles for the masons, and for yron worke for the dores and wyndowes, o ^v and beſydes the yron bowt at the forge .	ix li. xj s. iiij d.
Sm ^a ix li. xj d. iiij d.	
I ^m . too lodes of hart lathe w th the carrage .	xxx s.
Sm ^a xxx s.	
Sm ^a totalis, from Mychylmas 1567 untill Whytſontyde 1568 .	cxxij li. xj s. iiij d.
Sm ^a totalis, from 1561 untill Whytſontyde 1568	
Mciij ^{xx} li. xvij s. vij d. o ^b .	
I ^m . my chargis from Whytſontyde 1568 untill Mychylmas 1569.	
To the lyme burnor, for burnynge vij. kylls of lyme, after xv s. the kyll .	v li. v s.
I ^m . wood to the ſame, after xvj. lode to e ^v ye kyll, after ij s. vj d. for e ^v ye lode .	xiiij li.
I ^m . for caryage and dyggynge of e ^v ye lode of Chalke, after xv. lode, to e ^v ye kyll, after viij d. the lode .	iiij li. x s.
Sm ^a xxij li. x s.	
I ^m . for caryage and dyggynge of ij ^c lode of ſand, after iiij d. for e ^v ye lode .	iiij li. vj s. viij d.
Sm ^a iiij li. vj s. viij d.	
I ^m . to the brykmaker for makynge bryke and pavyng tyle .	iiij li. xvij s. vj d.
I ^m . the meat and drynke for the brykemakers and pavyng tile makers .	iiij li. x s.
I ^m . the dyg and caryage of the cleve from Shalford, after xvij d. the lode, and owt of other grounds nere to my houſe, after iiij d. the lode; and for ſand, after iiij d. the lode	liij s. iiij d.
I ^m . for the burnynge of v. kylls, after xv s. the kyll .	iiij li. xv s.
I ^m . wood for the burnynge of the ſame, after xv. lode to e ^v ye kyll, after ij s. vj d. e ^v ye lode	ix li. vij s. vj d.
Sm ^a xxiiij li. iiij s. iiij d.	

I ^{fm} . for dyggyng of whyght stone, after viij d. the daye, fyndyng theymselfs		vj li. viij s.
I ^{fm} . the caryage of the stone, beyng ij ^e lode, after xij d. the lode		x li.
I ^{fm} . for the rent of the quarrye for ij. yers		xl s.
I ^{fm} . tenne lode of stone fette from Wavlye the cariage		xxvj s. viij d.
I ^{fm} . for dyggyng of the same stone owt of the rubbyshe		x s.
I ^{fm} . the valewe of the sayd tenne lodes dygged, after iiij s. the lode.		xl s.
	Sm ^a xxj li. iiij s. viij d.	
I ^{fm} . the dyggyng of stone at halfpenye lane, after viij s. the daye, fyndyng theymselfs		xv s.
I ^{fm} . the caryage of the same		xv s.
	Sm ^a xxx s.	
I ^{fm} . the dyggyng of iiij ^e xxij. lode of rowghe stone, after vj d. the lode		x li. xj s. vj d.
I ^{fm} . the caryage of the same, after vj d. the lode		xl. xj s. vj d.
	Sm ^a xxj li. iij s.	
I ^{fm} . to the freemasons and stone leyers, after sondrye p ^{ces} by the daye		xlviij li. iij s.
I ^{fm} . theyre meat and drynke, after iiij d. the daye one w ^t an other		xv li.
	Sm ^a iiij ^{xx} vij li. iij s.	
I ^{fm} . wages to laborers to serve them, after sondrye p ^{res} by y ^e daye, monethe, and weeke		xvj li. iiij s. vj d.
I ^{fm} . theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye		xxxiiij li. v s.
	Sm ^a xl li. ix s. vj d.	
I ^{fm} . for stone hewen by the ffoote		iiij li. v s. x d.
	Sm ^a iij li. v s. x d.	
I ^{fm} . in tymbere w ^t the caryage xxx. lodes, after vj s. viij d. the lode		x li.
I ^{fm} . in sawyng of the same		iiij li. v s. viij d.
I ^{fm} . in planche borde from Dyddesfold w ^t the caryage, after iij s. iiij d. the hundred		x ^m v ^e —xviij li. x s.
I ^{fm} . in planks of too ynches thyke	ix ^e	l s.
I ^{fm} . to the Carpenters and theyre men at sondrye p ^{cs}		xiiij li. x s. ix d.
I ^{fm} . for theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye		ix li. xij s. viij d.
I ^{fm} . for hewyng of certayne tymbere o ^v and besydes the tymber aforesayd		xviij s. vj d.
	Sm ^a lvij li. xix d.	
I ^{fm} . the smythe for casements, after iiij s. a duble casement, barres for wyndowes, henges, and other yron worke		xvj li. x s. ij d.
I ^{fm} . yron bowght		xiiij li.
	Sm ^a xxx li. x s. ij d.	
I ^{fm} . to ij. carpenters, fyndyng theymselfs		xxiiij s.
	Sm ^a xxiiij s.	
I ^{fm} . for iij. figures sette o ^v my porche w ^t the caryage from London		v li.
	Sm ^a v li.	

I tm . fyve score of lathe nayle	iiij li. vj s. viij d.
I tm . in plancke nayle, brodes, ^a and other nayle	v li.
	Sm ^a viij li. vj s. viij d.
I tm . led for guttors, and otherwyse ymployed o ^v the porche and the vasys, and for the glasyer	xij li. xij s. iiij d.
I tm . to the plumere, w th his meate and drynke, and for sodere	xxx s.
	Sm ^a xiiij li. iiij s. iiij d.
I tm . to the payntere for his wagys and meat and drynke	xix s. iiij d.
I tm . to hym for whyght led and oyle and red led	xxvj s. viij d.
	Sm ^a xlvj s.
I tm . to the stone leyres for theyre wagis at sondrye p ^{ces} by the daye, besydes theyre meate and drynke	v li. viij s. ij d.
I tm . theyre meate and drynke, after iiij d. the daye	iiij li. x s.
I tm . wagis to laborers to serve theym at sondrye p ^{ces} the daye	xxviij s. iiij d.
I tm . for theyre meate and drynke as aforsaid	xxviij s. iiij d.
I tm . to one other stone leyere w th his meate and drynke	xviij s. v d.
	Sm ^a xij li. ix s. iiij d.
I tm . Horshehame stone to covere my howse, beynge iiij ^{xx} and v. lode, for the w ^{ch} I payde vijs. vj d. for xl ^{tie} lodes, and viij s. for e ^v ye lode of the reste at the dell	xxxviij li.
I tm . the caryage of the same from Horsham to Cranleye, after xix d. the lode at the leaste, and at a greater p ^{ce}	viij li. x s. v d.
I tm . ffrom Cranleye to my howse worthe the caryage e ^v ye lode ij s. iiij d. but geven	xi li. xx d.
	Sm ^a lvj li. xij s. j d.
I tm . to Baker for rydge tyle	iiij s.
I tm . vij. lodes of harte lathe, at xv s. the lode, w ^t the caryage, vij. lodes	v li. v s.
	Sm ^a v li. viiij s.
I tm . for bastynge rope	x s.
I tm . hurdels to mak scaffolds	x s.
I tm . scaffold nayles and poles	xij s.
	Sm ^a xxxij s.
I tm . to the glasyers after vj d. and v d. the daye, besydes theyre meate and drynke vli. xixs. viij d.	
I tm . theyre meate and drynke, after the rate by the day aforesaid	iiij li. iiij s.
I tm . oyle and rosen to syment w ^t all, redde led to coll ^r the barres and casements w th sodeyr	xl s.
	Sm ^a xij li. iiij s. viij d.
I tm . xj. cases of glasse w th the caryage to my howse, after xxix s. the case	xv li. xix s.
	Sm ^a xv li. xix s.

^a A kind of nails so called, probably *hodie* "brads." Halliwell refers to Florio, p. 68, ed. 1611.

Item. for ij. armes in my haule wyndowe ^a	x s.
	Sm ^a x s.
Item. to the joyn ^o s, aftere ij s. iiij d. the weeke to one of theym, and v li. x s. yerely to one other of theym, besydes theyre meate and drynke	xiiij li. v s. vj d.
Item. theyre meate and drynke, after the rate aforesayd	xv li.
	Sm ^a xxviiij li. v s. vj d.
Item. to the glasyrs one other tyme more then aforesayd	vij s. vj d.
	Sm ^a vij s. vj d.
Item. to the smythe more then aforesayd	xiiij s.
	Sm ^a xiiij s.
Item. to the carpenters more then aforesayd	xxvij s. iiij d.
	Sm ^a xxvij. iiij d.
Item to a plastrer more then aforesayd	x s.
	Sm ^a x s.
Sm ^a totalis from Whytsontyde 1568 untyll Mychylmas 1569	cccciiij ^{xx} li. xij d.
Sm ^a totalis of all mye buldynges from 1561 untyll Mychylmas 1569	Mvj ^{cl} x li. xix s. vij d. ob.
Sm ^a totalis as aforesayd	Mvj ^{cl} x li. xix s. vij d. ob.

^a In the bay window of the Hall at Loseley are still the arms of More: Azure, a cross argent, charged with five martlets sable, with the date 1568.—Kempe.

XXVIII. *Medieval Architecture in Aquitaine ; in continuation and conclusion of previous Papers. A Letter addressed to the EARL STANHOPE, President, by JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read April 19, 1855.

MY LORD,

Oxford, March, 1855.

In my last letter I gave some account of the celebrated Cloister of Moissac ; after which I visited Toulouse, which I consider to have been the head quarters of a very remarkable school of sculpture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; but which did not form part of the English province of Aquitaine, and therefore is not included in this series of letters. The next place that I visited was the town of CAHORS, which is finely situated amongst the hills, and was strongly fortified, as it was a border town between the dominions of the Kings of England as Lords of Guienne, and the Counts of Toulouse. A considerable part of the fortifications remains, including a very perfect bridge, of which I will presently give some description ; but according to custom it is, perhaps, best to begin with

CAHORS—THE CATHEDRAL.

This is a very remarkable church, and has an evident connection with St. Front at Perigueux, and the other churches of Byzantine character in this part of France. The plan is oblong, with an apse and side chapels, but without aisles ; the two western bays are square, and covered by cupolas of very wide span, about sixty feet. The arches carrying these cupolas are slightly pointed, very massive, with plain flat soffit and square edges. There is a simple impost moulding continued as a string, and a similar string moulding round the base of the cupola ; immediately above which in the lower part of the dome is a small pointed window in each face, now blocked up. These domes were evidently the only roof originally,



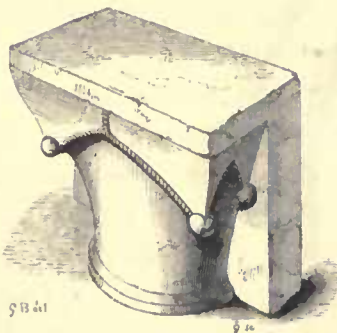
INTERIOR OF CHOIR, CAHORS CATHEDRAL.

but have afterwards been covered by a wooden roof, probably because the stone domes were not found impervious to the weather.

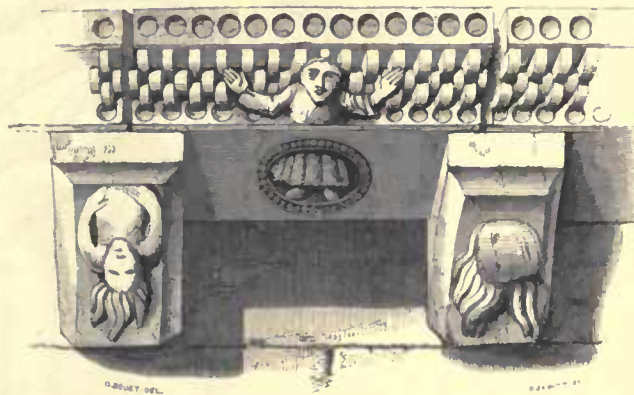
The apse and apsidal chapels appear to be original up to the springing of the vault, but the apse has not had a cupola, and the present vault with the windows are of the fourteenth century. The arches, which are pointed and plain, are original in great part; some of the capitals are very curious and early, of a very marked type, which I afterwards found in other examples, and consider to be clearly of the eleventh century. Other capitals and bases enriched with ornaments are later. At the west end are two towers, which with the wall

between them, making up the whole west front, are chiefly late in the twelfth century, with parts added in the fourteenth.

The western cupola has a small original square bell-cot on the top; the other is terminated in an obtuse point. They have evidently been originally open, but are now enclosed under a roof, which is carried partly on the side walls of the cupolas and partly on pieces of wall built up between them, leaving a small part only of the sides of the cupolas open to view, sufficient, however, to show a portion of the original cornice or corbel-table: some of the corbels are ornamented with heads,



CAPITAL, CAHORS, C. 1096.



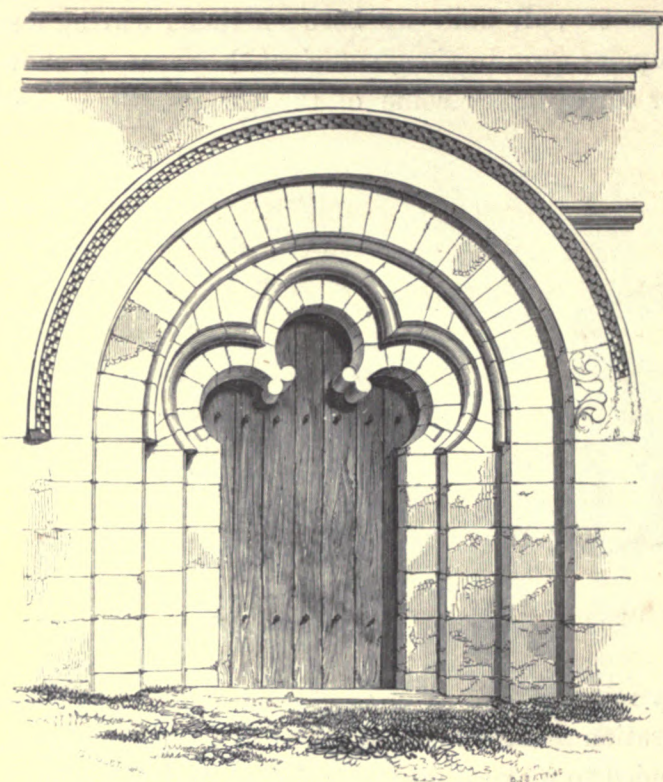
CORBEL-TABLE, CAHORS.

others are merely rounded off. The additional walls are of brick with pointed arches; this alteration must have been made at an early period, and the corbel-table has been copied to make it all look original, but the older work is of stone of a peculiar kind, while the later work is of brick, none of it is later than the twelfth century. The additions of the fourteenth century are of a different kind of stone. The vaults of the side chapels belong to that period; but the arches opening into them are part of the early work, and are round-headed; the original windows are also round-headed and have the billet ornament only: there are three in each bay, the central one has been raised.

At the east end in part of the original work are small pointed windows in panels, resembling some at Angoulême: in this part there is also a very rich cornice and corbel-table in evident imitation of those at St. Séverin at Toulouse: it has a pattern in the soffit, and an ornament closely resembling the Early-English tooth ornament; the prevailing ornament is a triple or quadruple row of billets. On the north side of the west bay is a very rich doorway and shallow

porch, resembling our late Norman work ; this also has a rich cornice and corbel-table closely resembling the one at the east end, but of a little earlier character ; this doorway is dated 1119.

On the south side of the nave is another doorway of a very Byzantine character,



SOUTH DOORWAY, CAHORS CATHEDRAL.

with a trefoil head under a semicircular arch ; this doorway may be part of the early work, but that on the north side is evidently an addition, cutting off the lower part of the original windows. A rich cornice of billets is carried along both sides of the church, in addition to the early cornice of the cupolas. All these later parts are in the style of Toulouse, the earlier parts much more of the Byzantine style. The original church is said by the best informed local antiquaries to have been built between 1096 and 1100, and, as the French antiquaries are more apt to give too early a date to their buildings than too late, there is probably good historical ground for the date assigned. The rich north doorway is dated 1119, and the remainder of the rich work was probably carried on from that time for

twenty or thirty years, or to about the middle of the twelfth century, or rather earlier than similar rich work in England, but not much.^a

On the south side of the choir is a rich Flamboyant cloister, tolerably perfect, with a fine doorway of that style; also a chapel, probably the Lady Chapel, with a singular vault, the springing of which is like that of fan-tracery. This cloister and chapel are said to have been built between 1485 and 1509.^b

The Chapel of the Penitents^c is a good small building of Transition Norman character, with pointed arches, and Norman details; the vault groined with square ribs, and good Norman capitals; the doorway good Transition Norman, with rich foliage on the imposts.

Close to this is the house in which Henri IV. was lodged—a very good Flamboyant house, with a rich doorway and staircase.

The small Church of St. Urcisse is said to have been built about 1340, and is a very pretty specimen of the French Decorated style, especially the west front and porch, with a richly-moulded doorway.

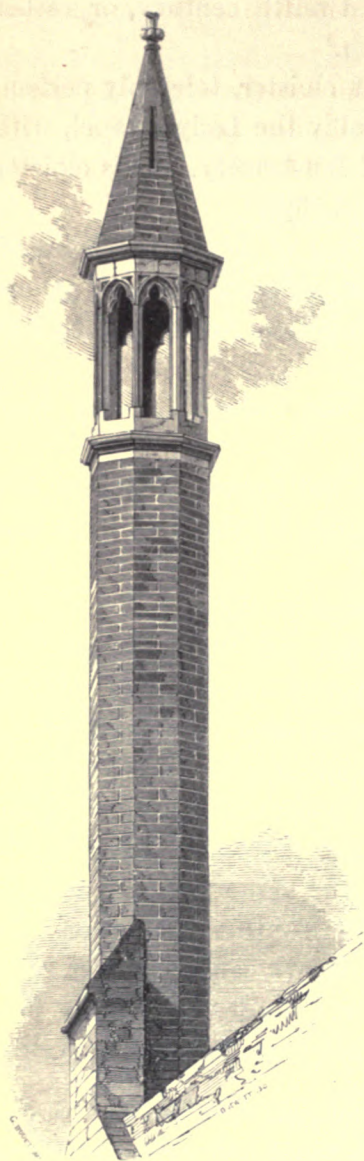
The house called the Palace of Pope John the Twenty-second, but built by his brother between 1320 and 1334,^d has been a really fine palace, but is now in a ruinous state. It has, however, a fine and lofty tower, and some of the original windows are preserved; they are small, of two lights, divided by a shaft with a good capital of foliage and square abacus. Other windows opening into the court are larger, and have Decorated tracery; there is a good corbel-table, a lion's head, with the springing of the ribs of a vault in the entrance passage. Adjoining to this palace is the Church of St. Bartholomew, built at the same time; it is good but rather plain work for the period, with a tower at the south-west corner. In the upper part are three ranges of windows of single lights, lancet-shaped, with Decorated impost and dripstone, otherwise quite plain. Under the tower is a porch and doorway of good Decorated work, with some sculpture, but not very rich.

^a Geraldus Hector III., who was Bishop of Cahors for more than fifty years, and died about the year 1200, is said to have enlarged the monastery at great expense, and was buried in the middle of the choir of the church, the place usually assigned to the founder. He was, therefore, probably considered as the second founder, and the greater part of the alterations I have described were probably made in his time. These alterations were so extensive that the bishop who directed them might fairly be considered as the second founder of the church. (See *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 470.)

^b They were begun by Bishop Antonius Allemand II., and finished by his successor, Antonius de Luzzech III. (*Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii. p. 473.)

^c This was probably part of the work of Bishop Geraldus Hector, A.D. 1150—1200.

^d William de Labroa was Bishop of Cahors from 1318 to 1324; he left 2000 florins for carrying on the work. (*Gall. Christ.* tom. ii. p. 472.)



CHIMNEY, CAHORS.

In the outskirts of the town are some Roman remains, consisting of part of a theatre or amphitheatre, and at some distance from it a Roman gateway, the arch of which is perfect, and a window over it; the arch is formed chiefly of stone, but with tiles introduced at intervals near the top, as if to strengthen it. There is also a single row of tiles, like a dripstone, round the arch; the layers of tiles are some single, others double; the tiles are smaller than is usual in Roman work. The wall is chiefly of rubble, faced with the usual small ashlar work.

A house of the fourteenth century, with a tower of good character, and some elegant windows of two lights, with a pierced trefoil over them, is now used as the prison.

Another fine house of brick, with a remarkable tall chimney, appears to be of about the end of the thirteenth century.

A considerable part of the FORTIFICATIONS remains. They appear to be of the end of the fourteenth century, and consist of a wall with a parapet, and square towers at intervals. They are said to have been built about 1390.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this town is the BRIDGE, which I believe to be the most perfect medieval bridge with its towers that we have remaining in Europe. It was built at the expense of the town, as shown by the archives, still preserved, and was commenced in 1265, and completed in 1383.^a It has three towers perfect, and

part of the fourth, which seems to have been a sort of Barbican, not so high as the others. The arches are pointed, except one; there is a passage through the

^a For the dates of the buildings in Cahors I am indebted chiefly to the information of M. Plunarvergne, who is (or was in 1851) Professor of History in the college there, and had studied them very carefully by the help of the original Archives of the town, which are well preserved, and to which he had free access. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to him for his kindness on the occasion of my visit to that very interesting city.

piers a little above the water, as at Montauban, probably for the purpose of stopping boats in taking toll from them.

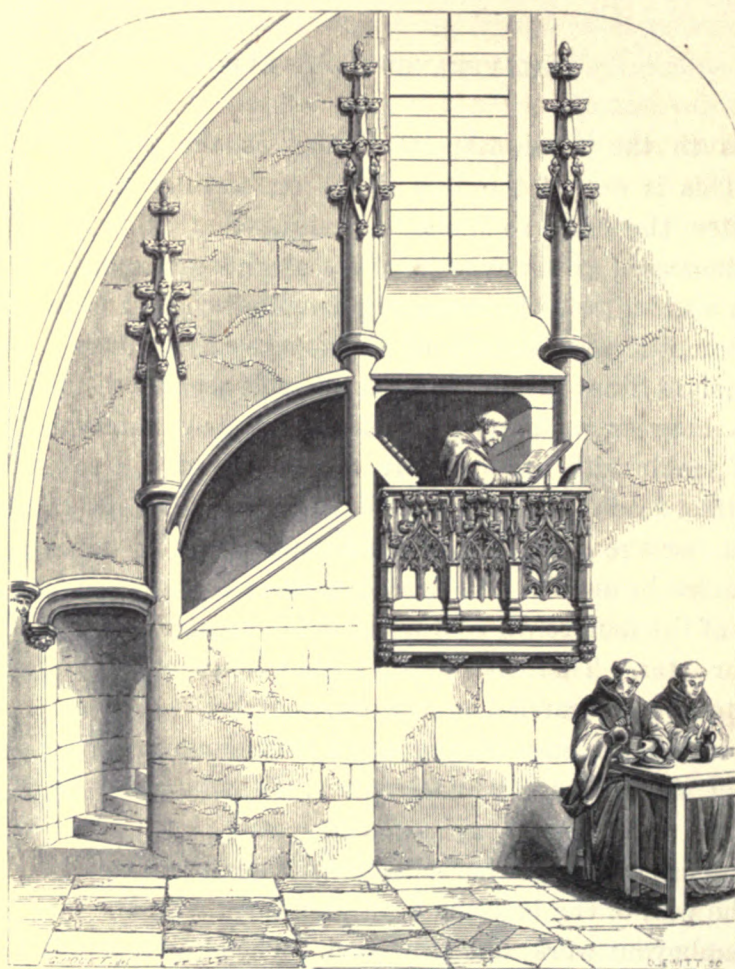
Cahors was one of the frontier towns of the English province of Guienne or Aquitaine, where it touched on the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse. The inhabitants were noted for their zealous attachment to the English Crown, and many traditions of that period are still current among them.

VILLEFRANCHE D'AVEYRON.

A few miles to the south-east of Cahors is the town of VILLEFRANCHE D'AVEYRON. This is one of the free towns or bastides founded by Edward I. and, as was often the case, so judiciously situated, that it is still a flourishing town, and has increased at the expense of its neighbours, some of which are much decayed. It is also built on the same regular plan which I have described in my book on the domestic architecture of the fourteenth century. The streets are arranged in straight lines parallel to each other at regular distances, with narrow lanes or mews between, and cross streets at frequent intervals, to connect one main artery of traffic with another. In the centre of the town is the market-place, with a street leading into it at each corner, so that the traffic passes under the houses, leaving the central space undisturbed for the market people. This space is surrounded by arcades or piazzas; some of the arches of which, with their buttresses, are of the fourteenth century, but the greater part of the houses are of the sixteenth or later. There is one very good house of the Renaissance period, with a stone stair turret carried on a wooden corbel, projecting very boldly over the street, and a rich doorway opening into a little square court, with an embattled wall. In one of the rooms is a fine fireplace, with the usual heads of Francis I. and his Queen.

Another house has a very rich corbelled projection over a small door, like an oriel window, but the wall of the house is continued flush with the face of the window. This is late Flamboyant work, but very good. The church stands at one corner of the market-place, according to the usual plan of these towns. The tower is carried on arches, forming a porch, and at the same time a continuation of the piazza. It is good Flamboyant work, rather early in the style. It has no aisles, but chapels between the buttresses, and an apse with apsidal chapels. The windows of the apse are long and narrow, of two lights, with Flamboyant tracery, early and good. The buttresses are tall and massive, but not arched. Altogether, it is a very good example of the early Flamboyant style.

In the suburbs of the town is the Carthusian monastery, which has been used as a public hospital since the time of the great Revolution. The buildings are nearly perfect, as they were left in 1790, and are chiefly of the fifteenth century. The church is Flamboyant, with fine woodwork, consisting of stalls with canopies, and the wooden doors finely carved with figures of saints in the lower panels of each door. The refectory, with a rich pulpit and a good vault, is quite perfect.



REFECTORY, VILLEFRANCHE D'AVEYRON.

There are two cloisters, one very plain, surrounding a large burial-ground; the other, in the usual situation between the church and the refectory, is comparatively small, but more lofty than the other, and much richer; it has a fine vault, and very good Flamboyant windows, the tracery of some of which is in geometrical patterns, others quite Flamboyant, alternating with each other. On the side next

the church the cloister is double, and very elegant; one part forms a kind of chapel for the dead, or lich-gate, a place where the bodies were stationed during part of the funeral service. The same arrangement is found in other monasteries. By the side of the door of the refectory is also a good lavatory. There are two other small chapels of the same character as the church, with good carving, and one of them has preserved the painted glass.

CAYLUS D'AVEYRON.

A few miles further to the south is the small decayed town of CAYLUS D'AVEYRON. The church is of mixed styles, and not very remarkable; the tower with part of a spire upon it stands at the south-west corner, and seems to be of the thirteenth century; the nave with its vault and the porch are of the fourteenth; the apse and chapels of the fifteenth, with some good Flamboyant painted glass. There are several houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in this small town, which is now little more than a village. One house of the fourteenth century in particular is very perfect, with its stone shop-front in the lower part, and handsome Decorated windows on the first floor; the interior is in a very dilapidated state and the floors rotten, but there is a good stone lavatory on the first floor: it is very unusual to find a domestic lavatory perfect.

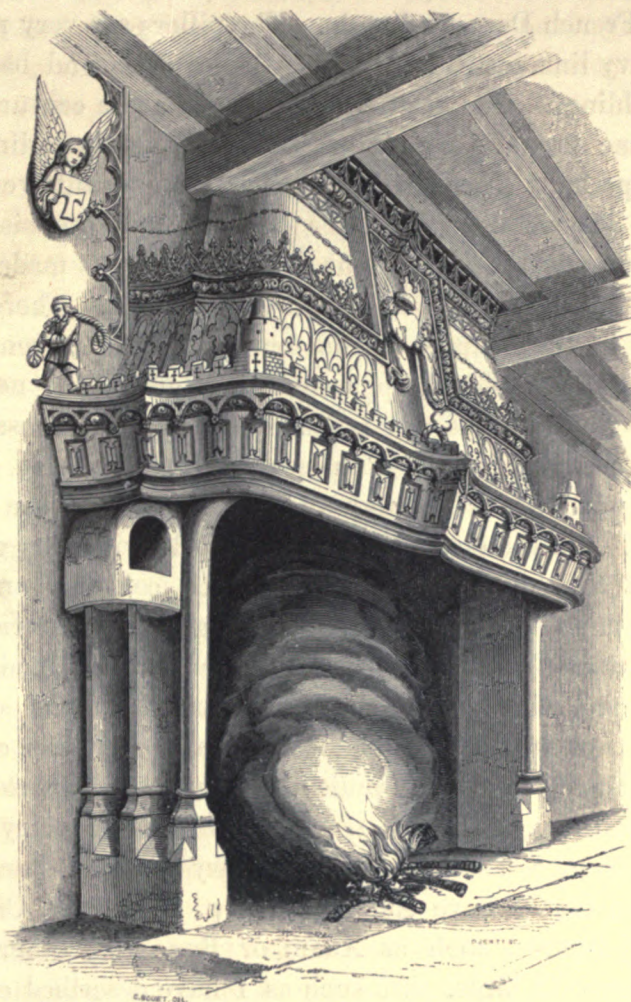
The adjoining house, separated only by a narrow passage, has also some good plain windows, which from their simplicity look like work of the thirteenth century, but their mouldings rather led me to conclude that they are of about the same age as the other, probably early in the fourteenth. There are some remains of a castle of the fourteenth century finely situated on a hill overlooking the town.

ST. ANTONIN.

A few miles further on in the same direction we arrived at the town of St. ANTONIN. This is considerably larger than Caylus, and has a considerable population, but has nearly the same desolate and decayed appearance; a number of the houses are of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, though all mutilated and modernized so as to require examination to see that they are really ancient. The principal feature in the town is the Hotel de Ville, a very elegant little building, partly of the twelfth century, partly of the fourteenth, and the tower has been recently restored under the direction of M. Viollet-le-Duc. The house stands upon an open arcade, the arches of which are pointed, and have rather late

mouldings, as if they had been altered in the fourteenth century ; but they must have been originally of the Transitional period, about the end of the twelfth, as the windows in the upper part are of that period, and there is no appearance of the whole having been rebuilt and the old materials used again, as is often the case. On the first floor is a long range of windows extending along the whole front of the building, ornamented by very elegant shafts of the Transition style, with figures at intervals. There are no arches to these windows ; but a horizontal stone lintel is carried on a double row of small shafts, with well carved capitals and moulded bases, and figures in the stiff Byzantine style. The windows in the upper story are of two lights, with round arches and shafts, and mouldings in the usual style of the period ; others more of the Byzantine character. The tower with its boldly-projecting upper stories has a very picturesque effect, but I do not know how far M. Viollet-le-Duc had authority for it.

The streets of the town are narrow and irregular, and when I was there were very dirty, but they well repay the trouble of a careful examination, as there is scarcely a modern house to be found, though many of the old houses have been much altered in the Flamboyant and Renaissance periods, and portions of these styles inserted in the early walls. There are also some Flamboyant houses of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, in better preservation, and some of these houses contain very good fireplaces ; one in particular is remarkably fine, of the richest Flamboyant work, the details of which are very good. Another fireplace, though plainer, is almost equally worthy of attention. One house of the thirteenth century has the lower part sufficiently perfect to make out the design—an arcade below, and a range of small windows of two lights on the first floor : these have very good mouldings and shafts, with capitals of foliage, and small circular openings above, also marked with foliage. The upper story is of wood, and has been altered, but an early stone shaft carrying a wooden beam shews that the arrangement is ancient, and several other houses in St. Antonin appear also to have had the upper story of wood, while the lower part was of stone. The same thing occurs also in England in many instances, and it appears to have been a common plan in the middle ages. The house last mentioned contains also a good Flamboyant fireplace, evidently an insertion when the house was altered ; the chimney shaft is early, round, with a cornice of the tooth ornament. The mouldings of the stone work show its early character. On the doorway of one of the houses is an escutcheon with the arms of a mason, the square and hammer. The church is originally of the twelfth century, but so much mutilated that nothing can be made out. The tower is small and round, modernized, but the basis seems early work.



FIREPLACE, ST. ANTONIN.

RODEZ.

Returning a few miles to the north-east, we arrived at the ancient and decayed town of RODEZ. The most prominent object in this city is the cathedral, which is a fine lofty structure of the usual plan, and with nothing very remarkable. The choir, the apse, and aisles, are of the fourteenth century,* with good windows

* Raimundus de Agriphe II., Bishop of Rodez 1349 to 1361, gave ornamented pontificals, &c. and was buried in the chancel of the cathedral. The rebuilding was probably completed at that time. (Gall. Christ. tom. ii. p. 958.)

and triforium arcade; the tracery is entirely of circles inclosing trefoils, the usual monotony of the French Decorated style. The pillars are very massive and plain, with a kind of wavy line instead of shafts, the capitals and bases moulded with very shallow mouldings. The transepts and nave are a century later^a than the choir; but the same design is carried out, the details and mouldings only betraying the Flamboyant period. The roodloft is rich Flamboyant work of stone, very delicately carved. The stalls, with their canopies and the bishop's throne, are rich Flamboyant woodwork. A hideous modern gallery is made on the top of the canopies, resting on the wall of inclosure of the choir. There are several fine tombs of bishops in the chapels of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; one of them has a harp on a shield, apparently a rebus of the name "Arpagone," showing that the aspirate was not much attended to in those days. The west front is heavy and bad, partly Renaissance work, but it has a very rich Flamboyant rose window. The north and south doorways are also fine and rich Flamboyant work. On the doors is some iron-work, with very good nail-heads.

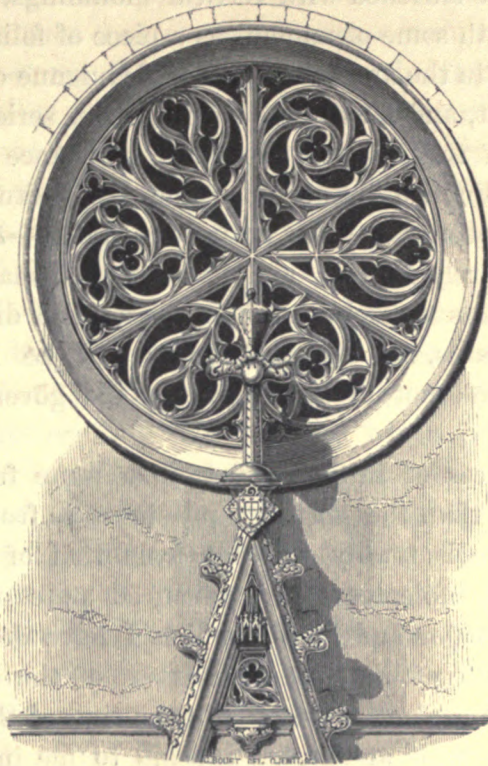
The Church of St. Amand is of the eleventh century, and the interior is nearly perfect, but so disguised by painting, and the exterior so thoroughly modernized, that at first sight it appears to be an entirely modern church. The plan is the usual one, with apsidal chapels to the choir, and side chapels to the nave, in the place of transepts. There is an arched recess exactly where the projecting arms usually are. The vaulting is early, of the eleventh or twelfth century, groined without ribs, with transverse arches to carry it. The capitals are also of the character of the eleventh century; two of them are of the same remarkable pattern that I have engraved (at p. 312) from Cahors; others are carved with small figures, such as Adam or Eve, &c.; others with grotesque animals, and others with birds, just such as I have described elsewhere as being found in this part of France at the end of the eleventh century.

There are several ancient houses in Rodez; one of the twelfth century, another of the fourteenth, and several of the fifteenth, but all in a very bad state, especially the older ones.

One corner house is a curious specimen of Flamboyant work, and has a remarkable doorway with intersecting mouldings, and a small window or rather aperture in the corner, opening on the staircase, for a crane to lift up goods. In another place, at the corner of a street, are two houses together; one of the thirteenth

^a They were built by William de la Tour, who was Bishop of Rodez from 1419 to 1461. "In ecclesia enim palatioque Episcopali multa reparavit et ornavit; necnon turrim, quæ adhuc superstes visitur, ædificavit." (Gall. Christ. tom. ii. p. 959.)

century, rather late. This has a corner tower with a battlement, and several of the original windows, with plate tracery; other square-headed windows are



ROSE WINDOW, RODEZ.

insertions. The other house is of the fourteenth, or early part of the fifteenth, and is a good instance of the bold corbelling out of the upper part of the house, though of stone, carried on a good corbel table. Another house is clearly of the twelfth century, but much mutilated; a part of the first-floor front remains, with a good string moulding of billets below the windows, and a hollow moulding with an ornament resembling the ball-flower, carried round the panel and over the windows. Another house of the sixteenth century has a good small doorway well moulded, with a panelled stone balcony over it, and bold corbels: the mouldings of this house are particularly fine Flamboyant. Another house has a good early chimney, with openings round the top under the capping; the chimney is octagonal. On the door of this house is a curious knocker of the sixteenth century. Another has square-headed Flamboyant windows, with very rich and bold mould-

ings of that style. Several houses have the upper part projecting, and carried on very bold wooden corbels, the mouldings of which are so deep and bold that they have quite an early look, but are probably of the sixteenth century. Sometimes the angles of houses are enriched with vertical mouldings, the stoppings of which are further enriched with some ornament, as a piece of foliage or a head.

This is the last town in the ancient province of Guienne of which I am prepared to give you any account, and I will here conclude this series of letters. I entered on the examination of the English provinces of France in the expectation of finding the effect of English influence in the architectural character of those provinces. In this expectation I was entirely mistaken—there is none whatever. Their character is entirely French, and it is evident that the architecture was influenced by local causes entirely; such as the natural divisions of the country, high ranges of mountains, as between Rodez and Le Puy, or broad rivers, especially the Loire, and not in any degree by the government or by political divisions.

The different provinces of France differ much more from each other in their architectural character than the northern provinces do from England. The style of the South of France is totally different from that of the North, and in the eleventh century clearly indicates a more advanced state of civilization. The intermediate districts of Anjou and Poitou, which I have described in my previous letters, are extremely interesting from the mixture of the styles of the south and the north in the twelfth century, especially in the time of Henry II. The hospital which he founded and built at Angers appears to me in a more advanced style of art than any other building in France or England of its date. It is more light and elegant, more decidedly Gothic, than the east end of Canterbury; and Nôtre Dame at Paris, which is nearly contemporary with it, is half a century behind it in style; the one has all the heavy massive character of the Romanesque, the other all the lightness and elegance of the Gothic. Henry II. as Count of Anjou resided much at Angers and held his court there, which was frequented by the English nobility and the higher orders of clergy, among whom the architects of the day must be looked for; and, as architects at all periods were ready to pick up and carry away new ideas, it seems probable that the English architects were much indebted to their observations in Anjou. For several ornaments, especially the tooth ornament, are common there in buildings of earlier character than any in which we find the same ornaments in England, or in other parts of France. The pointed arch was common there in the eleventh century; as in the South both round and pointed arches were used indiscriminately according to con-

venience. That the Normans at that period were behind the South in civilization, and consequently in architectural progress, is evident in many ways. I have mentioned the tower of Moissac, built at the end of the eleventh century in a finished style of art and with pointed arches, afterwards fortified by Richard I. and partially incased in rude and clumsy Norman work with round arches. The contrast of the styles of the South and the North when thus placed in juxtaposition is very remarkable, and shows a decided superiority in that of the South at that period, from about 1050 to 1150; but the South stood still while the North progressed rapidly, and the Gothic style is decidedly of Northern origin, although some of the intermediate steps may have derived considerable impetus from the collision of the two styles in Anjou.

These English provinces were in a more advanced state of civilization than England itself was at the time these buildings were erected, that is before the time of Henry the Second; after that period a great change takes place, and during the following century it is still doubtful which country had the priority in the architectural movement; and the French buildings of the time of Edward the First are not equal to the English. It is chiefly in the earlier periods, especially in the eleventh century, that the difference is so remarkable, and the advantage so much in favour of France: this gradually gives way, though they were probably still somewhat ahead, until towards the end of the thirteenth century, when the tables were turned in our favour. But this subject requires further investigation, and a more careful examination of the dates of buildings in both countries. Much of the change was probably owing to the character of Edward the First, in whose time art was in higher perfection in England than it ever was before, or, perhaps I might venture to say, it has ever been since.

I remain, my Lord,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

The Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope, Pres.S.A.

&c. &c. &c.

XXIX. *Notes on Bronze Weapons found on Arreton Down, Isle of Wight.*
By AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS, *Esq., F.S.A. In a Letter to* Sir HENRY
 ELLIS, *K.H., F.R.S., Director.*

Read November 15, 1855.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

The antiquities which I wish to submit to the consideration of the Society have been brought under their notice on a former occasion; still, as a hundred and twenty years have since elapsed, it will scarcely be necessary for me to apologise for reverting to them again.

On the 11th of December, 1735, several bronze weapons were exhibited to our Society by Mr. Benjamin Cooke, of Newport, Isle of Wight, which had recently been discovered in that Island;^a and on the 17th of March, 1736-7, several others, found at the same place, were exhibited by Mr. Peter Collinson,^b accompanied by the following letter to him from Mr. Cooke:—

“ Dr. SIR,

“ Newport, Jan. 1st, 1736-7.

“ As the spear and ax heads I formerly sent you prov’d acceptable, I send you some more that were found at the same time and place, which are most, if not all, different from those sent before. You desired me to be more particular in my accounts of them, which I shall oblige you with as follows: They were deposited on a hill about the middle of this island, called Arreton Down, in the parish of Arreton, in the manor of Hasely, on the estate of Richard Fleming, Esq.

“ A farmer who was widening a marle-pitt found these instruments ranged in a regular order, the axes laid on the spear-heads about a foot deep on the brow of a hill in a marley soil, about two hundred yards from the front of a retrenchment, which I take to be Roman; and at some distance on the same hill are two large barrows, which may be presum’d to hold the remains of those who were the owners of those weapons.

“ I think your opinion may be fully proved true that they are Gaulish, and

^a Soc. of Antiq. Minutes, Vol. II p. 129.

^b Ibid. Vol. II. p. 285.

belonged to y^e Roman auxiliars; and, if I had time, I think I could make it probable that they are as old as the reign of Claudius, and did appertain to some soldiers of Vespasian. This may be the subject of another letter. I shall only take notice, that I put a handle^a to the ax by authority of Homer, and from a seal in which I observed such an instrument, which carries the face of real antiquity. Whether this be not the *Amazonia Securis* mentioned by Horace, let the learned judge.

“ I am yours, &c.

“ BENJAMIN COOKE.”

Mr. Director^b was desired to make Drawings in the drawing-book of the Society of the before-mentioned heads of axes and spears shown by Mr. Collinson.^c

Six of the bronze implements, possibly those exhibited in 1735, appear to have been presented by Mr. Cooke to Sir Hans Sloane, and are now in the British Museum. Ten others, exhibited in 1737, are made known to us by Sir Charles Frederick's drawings, still preserved in the library of the Society. The originals seem to have been the property of Mr. Peter Collinson, by whom they were exhibited. I do not know whether they are still in existence, or where they are preserved. It would be very desirable that they should be united to their fellows in the British Museum, as it is only by carefully comparing remains of this class with such as are known to have been discovered together, that we are enabled to fix their relative ages, or the purpose for which they were made.

It is not recorded what number of weapons were found at Arreton. From some expressions in Mr. Cooke's letter, I suspect that more were discovered than the sixteen above mentioned.

The following is the description of them, arranged according to their respective types:—

No. 1. A spear-head, or dagger-blade, with tang: length 10 inches. The centre ridge is prominent, and is ornamented with rows of engraved dots. On each side of it are four ornamental ribs, converging at the point. At the end of the tang, which is flat, is a rivet-hole, in which the rivet remains; the latter appears to be about one inch long. (Plate XXV. fig. 1.)—*Mr. Collinson.*

^a In the drawings one of the celts is represented with a modern wooden handle

^b Mr., afterwards Sir Charles, Frederick.

^c Minutes, Vol. II. p. 287. The particulars of this discovery are noticed by Mr. Lort, in his paper on celts (*Archæologia*, Vol. V.), and one of the celts and a spear-head engraved in Plate VIII. figs. 5, 27; both very ill done, and not recognisable.

No. 2. Similar weapon: length $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The ornamentation is the same as in the last; but, in addition to the small dots, which are very faintly engraved, are two strongly-marked rows of dots near the lower end. The tang is broken across the rivet-hole. The fracture bears every mark of being ancient.—*British Museum*.

No. 3. Similar weapon: length 10 inches. It is not so broad in the blade as the two last. It has four ribs, varying in size on each side of the central ridge. A rivet-hole at the end of the tang, but no rivet.—*Mr. Collinson*.

No. 4. Similar weapon: length $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It has two small ribs close to the centre edge. At the end of the tang is a rivet-hole.—*Mr. Collinson*.

No. 5. Similar weapon: length $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It has no side ribs. The tang is longer in proportion to the blade than in the others; at the end of it is a rivet-hole.—*Mr. Collinson*.

No. 6. Similar weapon: length 10 inches. It is plain, like the last one, but the blade has a rather more curved outline. A rivet-hole at the end of the tang, in which the rivet remains.—*Mr. Collinson*.

No. 7. Similar weapon: length 8 inches. The tang is broken across the rivet-hole, and the fracture appears ancient.—*British Museum*.

No. 8. Similar weapon: length $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. The tang is short, cut square at its end, as if curtailed on purpose. It has no rivet-hole. From the oxydization of the surface, this object must have been deposited in its present state. (Plate XXV. fig. 4.)—*British Museum*.

No. 9. Similar weapon: length $9\frac{3}{8}$ inches. A hollow ferule appears to have been passed over the tang, so as to form a socket for the wooden handle or stem. The tang projects beyond this ferule, and is pierced like the others with a rivet-hole, in which the rivet remains. The ferule is curved at its upper end, so as to hold the blade firmly. This end is ornamented with raised ribs, and the lower one with engraved lines. On the intermediate space appear six raised bosses, which simulate rivets. There is no rivet-hole in this ferule, which must have been kept in its place by the handle and the rivet in the tang. (Plate XXV. fig. 2.)—*Mr. Collinson*.

No. 10. A weapon (length $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches) resembling in its blade those which have been described, but with a less projecting centre ridge. It has a socket which forms part of it, and in it is a rivet-hole. The upper and lower ends of the socketed portion are ornamented like the ferule in No. 9; towards the upper end are two projecting bosses. (Plate XXV. fig. 3.)—*Mr. Collinson*.

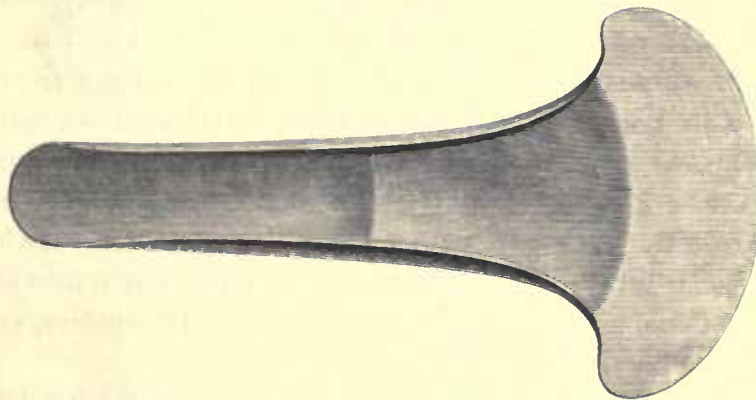
No. 11. A dagger-blade: length $9\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The blade is strengthened by three

raised ribs. It has been attached to its handle by three rivets. (Plate XXV. fig. 5.)—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 12. A dagger-blade: length 9 inches. It swells gradually in the centre, and is variously ornamented. Only one of the rivet-holes remains. The outline of the handle is marked by a different oxydization on the blade. (Plate XXV. fig. 6.)—*British Museum.*

No. 13. Celt: length $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It has a broad lunated edge, and is ornamented with engraved lines, both on the upper part of the blade, and on the sides. In the drawing the central portion of the celt is concealed by a modern wooden handle, to which Mr. Cooke alludes in his letter.—*Mr. Collinson.*

No. 14. Celt: length 8 inches. Similar in form to the last, but quite plain. (See woodcut.) It is a remarkably strong implement, and is the largest of its class in the British Museum. It is well made and finished.—*British Museum.*



No. 15. Celt: length $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It differs only in size from the last, being of the same proportions and finish.—*British Museum.*

No. 16. Celt: length $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Similar to the last.—*Mr. Collinson.*

It will be seen that the weapons may be separated into four classes. The first, including Nos. 1—9, which are probably spear-heads, were fastened by means of rivets passing through a tang into their shaft or handle; the wood was prevented from splitting by a ferule fitting on to the blade. This type is quite new to me, and differs from any that I have seen either found in the British Islands or on the continent, and I have Mr. Kemble's authority for stating that no similar weapon is to be found in the museums of North Germany. The second class consists of one specimen, No. 10, which is socketed, and which may be a

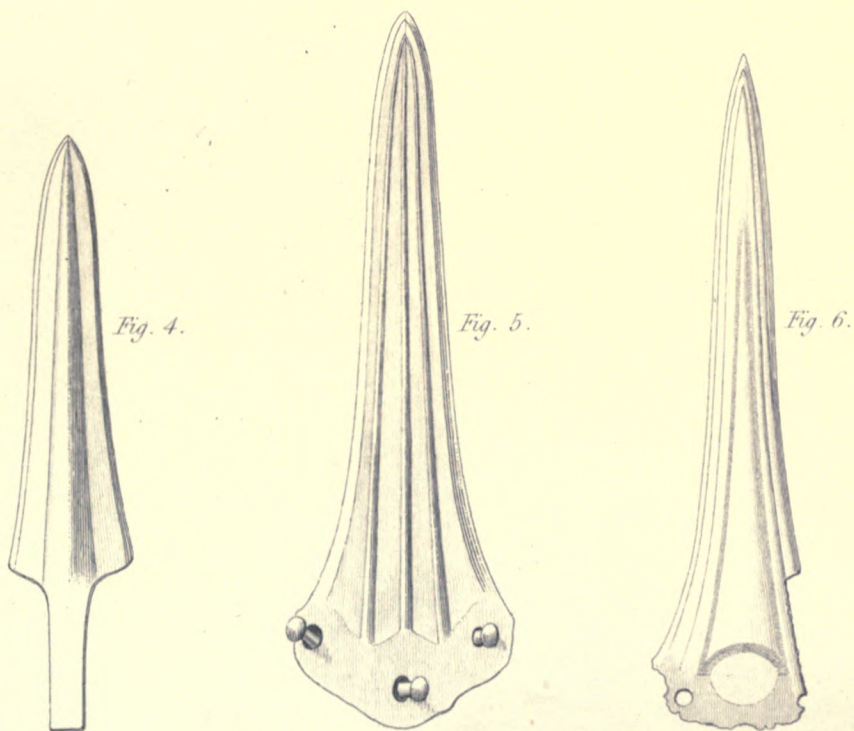
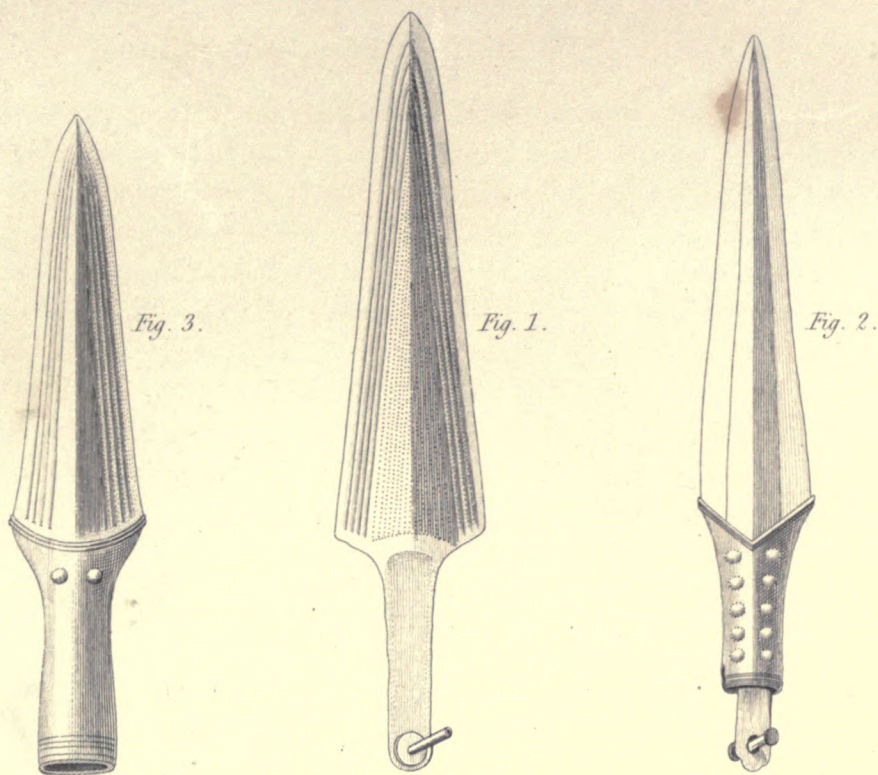
spear-head, dagger, or knife. The type is not an unusual one, though not often so highly ornamented; it occurs not unfrequently in Ireland. The more common form is shown in the accompanying woodcut, which represents a socketed knife,



with its original wooden handle, and which is preserved in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The rivet in this case, as is not unusual in bronze weapons, has probably been of wood. The third class consists of daggers (Nos. 11, 12) different in form, and which have had a bone or wooden handle, fastened on with rivets. Objects of this kind are among the few bronze weapons that have been found in sepulchral interments, particularly in the barrows of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire. The fourth class consists of celts (Nos. 13—16). They are all of the same type, very strong, and well calculated for use in war or in the arts of peace. They are not of a very common form, but have been found in various parts of England and Ireland. One of them (No. 13) is ornamented, and resembles the bronze celts found at Poslingford, near Clare, in Suffolk, described and engraved in *Archæologia* (Vol. XXXI. p. 497); of which four are in the British Museum. A similar celt, rather more slender in form, but somewhat differently ornamented, was found a short time since at Lyss, in Hampshire, and is in the collection of Albert Way, Esq.

It is greatly to be regretted that we have not fuller particulars of the circumstances of the discovery of these weapons. They appear to have been arranged in regular order, the celts over the others. Nothing would seem to favour the idea of a sepulchral deposit, nor of accidental loss. They were evidently carefully laid by, either for temporary concealment or as a store for future use. It is, however, evident that they were not deposited with their handles or shafts, for the rivet-holes in several of them (Nos. 2, 7, 8) were broken in ancient times, as shown by the fractured edges, which are covered with the same patina as the rest of the blades; their imperfect state would thus prevent their being securely attached. It is not unlikely that they may have belonged to some bronze-smith of ancient days who lost his life before he could return to secure his store, or who forgot the exact spot in which he had deposited it.

As little can be said of the purposes for which, or the people by whom, these



Scale. 1 2 3 4 5 6 inches

J. Basire, sc.

BRONZE WEAPONS found on ARRETON DOWN, ISLE of WIGHT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April, 1856.

objects were employed. They would be well fitted for war, the chase, or even domestic uses, and may have served for all three. There is nothing necessarily foreign about them, as they resemble English types more than foreign ones, though differing from both, and they may have been manufactured in the island in which they were found. They are certainly not Saxon, nor could they have belonged to the Legionaries of Vespasian or their allies, as suggested by Mr. Cooke, for all the documentary evidence that we possess shows clearly that bronze weapons were neither used by the Roman conquerors of Britain or by their less civilized opponents. They must belong, therefore, to that vast and obscure portion of our history unrelieved by any written records, when wave after wave of different tribes and even races scattered their spent remains over these shores, and sought here their most distant scene of adventure, or their last refuge from continental oppression.

It is not, however, my intention to discuss the intricate subjects connected with the use of bronze weapons in these islands, or the period to which they belong. It will be sufficient for me to recall attention to a remarkable discovery of such objects, and to furnish thereby materials for those more competent than myself to treat of so extensive a subject as that to which I have alluded.

Yours faithfully,

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

British Museum, Nov. 1855.

XXX. *History of the Boat which gave Peter the Great the first Thought of building the Russian Fleet. Communicated by SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Director, in a Letter to the PRESIDENT.*

Read 31 January, 1856.

MY LORD,

British Museum,
30th January, 1856.

Among the Sloane Manuscripts in the British Museum there is one, entitled "The Story of the Ship's Boat which gave Peter the Great the first Thought of building the Russian Fleet."

I am not aware that it has been in print; nor have I found it known to persons whose literary means, and whose knowledge of all which has been published in this or any other country relating to Russia, has enabled them to call such a Tract to recollection. It must have been written more than a century ago, since it is found in Sir Hans Sloane's Collection of Manuscripts, which was transferred to the Trustees of the British Museum in, or soon after, 1753.

The Story is remarkable. The boat itself is, no doubt, that which is still preserved, together with its sails, at St. Petersburg in the Czar's house; and is a far prouder monument to the memory of Peter the Great than the statue upon the rock which was set up by the Empress Catherine to the memory of her great predecessor.

The writer of this story was confessedly present at the naval solemnity which forms the chief feature of his Tract; and was then, or had been, as I gather from particular expressions, in the service of the Czar.

Who he was, after taking great pains in enquiring, I have been unable to discover.

I remain, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope,
&c. &c. &c.

“The STORY of the SHIP’S BOAT which gave his late Russian Majesty PETER ALEXOWITZ the first THOUGHTS of BUILDING the RUSSIAN FLEET.

“The Russian history is exceeding difficult to trace, because no historian takes notice of any actions till after the time of Duke Ruric, who died A. 879. Cluverius, indeed, is quoted, who relates from Greek Historians that Igor, Great Duke of Russia, crossed the Euxine Sea with a fleet of 15,000 vessels to attack Constantinople—but these are agreed to be only cock-boats, and of no consequence; and it is also further agreed that D. Uladimer was too much engaged to establish religion to regard navigation, and was blamed for the division of his country into twelve dukedoms for the sake of his twelve sons: but the disturbances this impolitic division made were soon quieted by the Great Knaze or Prince Ivan Basilowitz, who re-united three dukedoms and reduced ’em again into one body. This success by land gave umbrage to the maritime powers, lest such an enterprising prince should make any attempts by sea; and, therefore, in a congress at Lubeck, the subjects of foreigners were forbade to come into Russia to teach navigation or shipbuilding, though he seemed to have no views that way, his whole time being taken up in making conquests by land. The death of Borise Godunoff concluded the succession in his line, and after an interregnum of some years came the family of the Emperor Peter the Great. 1. The grandfather, Czar Michael Theodorowitz, who quelled the civil dissensions of the country, and guarded against the incursions of the Tartars, but had no thoughts of building ships. 2. His father, Czar Alexie Michaelowitz, not only confirmed the strength of the dominions his father had left, but advanced upon his neighbours, and enlarged his territories, and extended his thoughts also to the sea. Yet in this he made but a very small beginning, having only built a little ship called the Eagle, and one yacht or galliot on the river Wolga; and the design was totally quashed and defeated at Astracan, by a quarrel amongst the Hollanders that built and had the care of these vessels, in the way to the Caspian Sea. The captain being killed, some fled to Persia and thence to the Indies, and only two of the whole company, a surgeon and a carpenter, returned to Moseow to relate the disappointment.

“So that Czar Peter Alexiewitz truly began and perfected a Fleet, the story of which is thus related:—

“His Majesty, when yet a youth, was walking in the flax-yard at Jomaclost (an old seat of the family near Moscow), and, passing by the magazines where some remains of the household of Niketa Ivanovitz Romanoff, his great-uncle, were

laid, he spied, amongst other things, a small foreign vessel, and his curiosity not suffering him to pass it by without an enquiry, he presently asked Francis Timerman (who then lived with him and taught him geometry and fortification) what, for a vessel, that was? He told him it was an English boat. He then asked, where they made use of it? He answered, it was made use of by ships to bring and carry goods. His Majesty then ask'd in what it was preferable to our vessels? (for he observed it built in a fashion better and stronger than ours.) Timerman answered, that it goes with a sail, with the wind, or against it : which word made him greatly wonder, and, as though not credible, raised his curiosity to see a proof of it. The Czar asked Timerman, was there such a man as could refit the vessel, and show it to go so? And hearing that there was one, being overjoyed, he required him then to find him out. Then Timerman sought out the above-said carpenter, Carstens Brand (who was sent for by his father from Holland to build ships in the Caspian Sea as is before mentioned).

“ Then did the seed of the Czar Alexie Michaelowitz begin to sprout. Carstens Brand, a long time despairing of employment in his own way, had hitherto subsisted himself by joyner's work ; and contrary to his expectation being called to work at his first trade, he very willingly repaired the boat, made the mast, four sails, and sailed up and down the River Yause * in his Majesty's sight, which was yet a great wonder to his Majesty and exceedingly pleased him.

“ And who at that time could imagine this divertizement of his Majesty would ever have improved to greater purposes, and not have been laid aside as an entertainment of his youth? But this monarch was so particularly remarkable in all he did, that the very pastimes of his childhood are esteemed as transactions momentous and weighty, and appear worthy to be recorded in history. He pursued such diversions in his childhood as led him, and many other great personages before him, to future great exploits. His pleasures were to build forts moated round ; to draw up battalions as in a real engagement with an enemy, offensive and defensive. And so the said boat did not only serve for play and pastime, but gave occasion for his building a great Fleet.

“ But to return to the story. His Majesty was not content to see the sailing of the boat ; but coveted himself to go in her, and steer her ; and because he had observed the boat not to answer her helm, but often to strike against the bank, he asked the above said Carstens Brand the reason of it? Who answered,

* A small river that runs by the suburbs of Moscow, wherein the English and Dutch merchants dwell, and falls into the Mosqua a little above the city.

because the water was narrow and she had not sufficient way. Then his Majesty ordered the boat to be carried into a water called the Prussian Pond, but that was nothing better: and his desire was so inflamed that it hourly increased, and he resolved to carry it into a larger water: and the Lake of Pereslave was mentioned to him as nearest. He wished to fly thither, but the following accident intervened to retard his journey.

“His mother the Czarine being heartily solicitous for the safety of her son, endeavoured to dissuade and divert him from it, yet with a deference and respect to his sovereign dignity. On his part, he so comported himself to her will as if he had been regardless of his own power and dignity.

“Here was the difficulty: to desist from his intended journey towards the Lake, his strong bent of mind that way would not permit; and yet to proceed without his mother’s approbation, his filial affection forbade him: and all the scruple was about her Majesty’s consent, in an undertaking least in opinion dangerous. However, his eager desire to effect his purpose made him very thoughtful to bring it about. Under the pretext of performing a vow in Trinity Monastery, he prevailed with his august mother for an opportunity of making this journey; hence, it is manifest with what an ardent zeal for the public good God inspired this monarch.

“After his Majesty had taken a full view of the extent of this lake, he then instantly and openly entreated his mother to build there a house and vessels: and so the abovesaid Carstens Brand built two small frigates and three yatchts, wherein his Majesty diverted himself a few years. But afterwards he thought this too small a water, and designed to go to the Lake Cubins, which is large and extensive but not deep enough. Then he fixed his resolution to visit a water large as his desire, and that was the sea itself; but motherly care again obstructed this design; which often represented this as a voyage dangerous and troublesome; but such was the impulse of this son’s spirit, that it could not be restrained nor diverted, and she saw him immutably resolved, notwithstanding all the dissuasion she had used.

“Therefore in 1694 his Majesty visited Arch Angel, and from thence, in his own yatcht, called the St. Peter, he sailed to Ponoia in company with English and Hollands merchant ships under convoy of one Dutch Man of War, commanded by Captain Jolle Jolson.

“His Majesty was much delighted with this voyage, so much at large, but did not stop here. He therefore bent his thoughts wholly towards building a fleet: and in his Invasion of the Tartars he had laid siege to Asoph, and happily taken

it; he then in prosecution of his purpose, which was unchangeable, thought not long about it; but put it speedily in execution. A fit place for building ships was found in the River Veronez, by a city of the same name. Masters were sent from Holland, and in 1696 a new work was begun in Russia, the building of great and noble ships, gallies, and other vessels: and to make it lasting in Russia he contrived to bring the art itself into his own nation; and to that end sent great numbers of his own nobility and gentry into Holland and other dominions to learn Ship-building and Navigation.

“ And what is most wonderfull; as though this monarch was ashamed to be out-done by his subjects in this art, he made a tour to Holland himself, and at Amsterdam, in the wood-yard called the Ostend Wharf, he wrought with other volunteers in the ships, and, in a little time made that proficiency as to pass for a good carpenter; after this he desired John Pool, master of the yard, to instruct him in the proportions of a ship, which he learned in four days.

“ But because in Holland this art was not taught perfectly in the mathematical way, but only some few principles of it, and the rest must be acquired by long practice and experience; and the above-said master told him they could not demonstrate this in lines, it gave him great uneasyness that he had taken so long a journey for that purpose and had failed of his end so much desired.

“ A few days after it happened that his Majesty was at the house of John Theesing a merchant, where he sat in company very pensive for the above-said reason, but when in the course of conversation he was asked the cause of his melancholy, he then declared his reason for it.

“ An Englishman in the company, who heard this, told him that in England this kind of structure was in the same perfection as other arts and sciences, and might be learned in a short time. His Majesty was glad to hear this: and hereupon in all haste went to England, and there in four months time finished his learning, and at his return brought over with him two master ship-builders, John Dean and Joseph Noy.*

“ And now it appears to have been an occasion not a little remarkable, since there is a complete Fleet in Russia, and the Czar himself was a master ship-builder, as he proved in fact ^b by appointing another place for building ships in

* “ Baron Huyssen, Councillor in the Colledge of Ivan, in the History of his Majesty’s Life, tells us that his Majesty perceived the method and manner of building ships in England to be more regular and much better than that in Holland, and was often heard to say that had he never gone to England he had still remained ignorant of the art.

^b “ For as soon as he returned from England he went down to Veronez, whither he carried the two English

the royal city of Petersburg which he founded. What a multitude of great ships and gallies and other vessels of every kind are here built regularly and beautifully we have no occasion to relate; but all rejoice and wonder. And because a fleet to enable it to succeed in expeditions and engagements requires some formal regulations, or a rule, without which winds and sailors are useless, this most wise monarch set himself to this work, and partly from his own judgment, and partly out of the regulations of foreigners, he collected the excellent rules which he formed into a book: and thus has he, as it were, breathed a living soul into his own material creation, and thence we have seen by the blessing of God those happy successes in every part of the Baltic, where he made prize of a great many ships of his enemies; with unusual success took the Swedish Rear-Admiral and his squadron, and subdued the great kingdom of Finland, which by land was never to be come at by reason of the difficulty of the roads to it, and in 1719 passed by a descent on Sweden itself, and gave them such a defeat as concluded in our advantage and triumph.

“Thus, kind Reader, you see how merciful the most gracious God has been, and how wonderful his Providence manifested to us in old time. As low as the most ancient Histories go, Russia had no fleet; though this was always possible had there been any thought or care to have one: afterwards adverse times arose, wherein it was impracticable so much as to think about it. But in our days this glorious work, scarce before heard of by us, having taken its beginning and rise from so small an occasion, is grown to the greatest perfection by the vigilancy, diligence, and indefatigable application and industry of this wise monarch; and this in such a strange and wonderful manner, as a long and tedious war has not obliged him to intermit, nor many other cares, both civil and military, have given the least interruption to it.

builders Dean and Noy. The first soon after desired a discharge, which was granted, without giving any proof of his art; the Czar himself and Joseph Noy received orders from the Lord High Admiral Theodore Alexowitch Golovin to build each of them a man-of-war.

“The Czar having taken upon himself the title of a master ship-builder, was pleased to subject himself to the condition of that character; and in compliance with that order gave the first proof of his skill in the art which he had learn'd abroad, and continued afterwards to bear that title, and had at all times, notwithstanding his great engagement in many other affairs, one ship upon the stocks; and at his death left one ship half-built, one of the largest in Europe, 180 feet long upon the deck, 51 broad, and 21 deep, and mounts 110 guns, and is by relation one of the finest bodies that has ever been seen, as were indeed all the rest he built. He himself drew the draught of this great ship at Riga, where was no master ship-builder but himself: and when he returned to Petersburg he gave the Surveyor an account that he had drawn his draught of the great ship which he had orders to build from the Surveyor's Office, and, according to the regulations of the Navy, presented his draught to be examined.”

“The Story being thus told can want no confirmation : yet, to show farther in an instance very remarkable the passion his Majesty had for this little Boat, I presume to add the last token of his regard for it, whereby he seemed desirous to perpetuate the remembrance of it, as the first occasion of his naval proceedings and exploits.

“This very boat was brought from Moseow to St. Petersburg in 1723, repaired and beautified in order to make his last and most glorious appearance on the 12th August, which I shall give a short Account of, as I had an opportunity of seeing the transaction.

“In the month of June the same year his Majesty sailed to Revel with his fleet, and returned to Croonstadt in the beginning of August, at which time a great number of yatchts and bayers, about two hundred, and one galliot were ordered to meet him there, and attend on the famous little boat above.

“After this little Fleet was arrived within half a league of the place with their charge, they had orders to cast anchor till the nine flags in so many pinnaces came up to pay their respects to the Mother of their great Fleet. A small parent indeed of so large a progeny. At the return of the flaggs the yatchts, &c. weighed anchor and went into the haven, save the galliot which bore the venerable matron ; that lay off at sea till the day of the grand solemnity, when she was received with uncommon ceremony.

“For the Czar a second time made her a visit with the flaggs alone, launched her, and grac’d her with his imperial standard, his own person steering, the Great Admiral and two other Admirals rowing, with the Surveyor of the Navy Ivan Michaelowitch Golovin.

“At her launching the Great Admiral General fired seven guns as a signal to the whole Fleet, consisting of twenty-two men-of-war of the line, to fire at once.

“Then away she came, and, as she came by each ship, was saluted by all the cannon. After she had passed the whole fleet and rowed into the haven, the dutiful children paid the last compliment to their mother with one generall salute of their cannon. Then came on dinner time, and in the evening the Court and Flag Officers rendezvouzd on the edge of the Haven, and closed the evening with merriment, &c.

“A few days after the Boat was brought back to Petersburg and laid up in the castle, where she is to be taken the greatest care of.”

XXXI. *On Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper; with extracts from some of his unprinted Papers and Speeches.* By JOHN PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. V.P.S.A.

Read March 6, 1856.

A MANUSCRIPT volume in my possession, which formerly belonged to Sir Christopher Hatton, as testified by his own handwriting upon it, supplies some additional information respecting Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper and father of Lord Chancellor Bacon, a notice of which seems not unsuited to the purposes of this Society. Sir Nicholas was a very unpretending man, as regards authorship: he published little or nothing in his lifetime; and perhaps the difficulties in which he was involved by, at least, assisting Hales, in his treatise on the title of the Scottish Queen, served as a warning to him how he again gave adversaries an advantage over him by printing a book. That book was the means of excluding him from the Privy Council, after he had been several years in possession of the Great Seal; and, owing to the animosity of the Earl of Leicester, he did not for some time re-establish himself in the favour of the Queen.

It will be found also that, besides adding considerably to the small stock of Sir Nicholas Bacon's productions, some of the papers I am about to notice throw light upon the personal history of a man, great in himself, but greater as the parent of the ablest philosopher that, perhaps, the world has produced since the revival of letters. For instance, the following commencement of a private communication from Sir Nicholas to the Queen refers, singularly enough, to his own personal appearance, only about two years before his death: he thus excuses himself for not coming to Court:—

“My most gracious Sovereigne, I with all humblenes praie pardon of your Ma^{tie} that I presume by letter to do that, which bounden dutie and service requireth to be donne in person. Oh! good maddam, not want of a willing harte and mynde, but an unable and unweldie bodie is the onely cause of this: and yet

the bodie, such as it is, everye day and hower is, and shalbe, ever reddie at your Ma^{tes} commaundment; and so should they bee, if I had a thowsand as good as anie man hath; myne allegiance and a number of benefittes hath so sundrie waies bound mee."

Therefore, the observation of Sir Nicholas to Elizabeth, when she visited him at Gorhambury, has a double application, as he intended it, but not as it has usually been understood. The Queen observed to him that his house was too small for him: "If it please your Majesty," replied the factious Lord Keeper, "it is not that my house is too small for me, but that I am too large for my house; and your Majesty has made me so." The fact is that Gorhambury House, at that period, was in the same state as when both it, and a large tract of land extending into three different parishes, were given by Henry VIII. to Bacon, as a reward for services in the suppression of the Monasteries. Subsequently to the visit of Elizabeth, Sir Nicholas set about the repair and enlargement of his house, and thereby (like most of those who build) for some time crippled his finances: he constructed two wings, larger than the original body of the edifice.

The main object of his letter to the Queen was to induce her to interfere in the affairs of the Low Countries, and to take some steps regarding the person and authority of the young King of Scotland. On the last point the writer observes,

"The better to understande what is best to be forseene, for both their and your suertie, mee thinketh it best that some wise men were sent to conferre with the Regent and his adherents by your Ma^{te}; and that such counsell as shalbe agreed upon in that conference be sent to your Highnes to be considered of, and to be allowed or amended. Then, resteth nothing but to have it carefully executed. And in the handling of this, great care would be taken that the young Kinge, who groweth nowe to yeeres, be not transported, but may remayne in the governance of such as shalbe most assured to your Ma^{te}."

The way in which this end was to be accomplished was the usual course, not only at that period, but at almost any period of our history—the distribution of bribes in the shape of pensions among the nobility:—"And for the better bringing this to passe (adds Sir Nicholas) I most humbly beseech your Highnes, that such and soe manie pensions may be graunted, as may best bring it to good effecte. Suerly I thinke that everie mark that shalbe thus bestowed will save your Ma^{te} an hundred thowsand; yea, it may be doubted, if this be undone, whether anie money will be able to beare off the daunger."

From thence the writer proceeds to advert to threatened perils of invasion from Spain, which he then wisely foresaw, but which did not come to a climax for

more than ten years afterwards, the date of the letter being "From Gorhambury the 21st March, 1577" (*i. e.* 1577-8). At this period the Lord Keeper was extremely unwell, and in the conclusion he speaks of his "shaking" and serious illness, which had increased his anxieties for the public welfare, and had compelled him with such earnestness to press upon her Majesty the necessity of the course he had pointed out.

This letter is followed by another, dated six or seven weeks afterwards, viz., 6th May, 1578, of similar import, but, if possible, more urgent on the affairs of Scotland and the Netherlands, and lamenting that the time seemed to have passed when anything could be done for France. As this production has been already printed, I shall not think it necessary to speak farther about it, but advert to other matters, more or less novel.

A speech by Sir Nicholas Bacon, urging Elizabeth to marry, has been mentioned and quoted by most of his biographers; but my MS. contains two long harangues on the subject. These, and the obvious arguments they contain, it is not necessary here to notice, farther than as they are followed by a document, headed "The Queene's Ma^{ties} Answere to the Petitions exhibited." This answer is a singular production, evidently by Elizabeth herself, parts of which have been printed in the Parliamentary History, and other parts wholly omitted. It is not long, and it is worth giving in its entire state: I therefore copy it, requesting those who hear it to allow for the harsh, crabbed, and not always intelligible character of the Queen's oratory.

"Since" (she says) "there can be no duer debte then Prince's word, to kepe that unspotted, for my parte I would be lothe that the selfe same thinge w^{ch} kepeth the merchauntes credit from cracke, should be the cause that Princes speach should meritte blame, and so their honour quaille: therefore, I will answere give, and this it is. The two petitions that you presented me, expressed in manye wordes, conteyned in some, as of your cares the greatest,—my marriage and my successor—of which two I thinke best the last be touched, and of the other a silent thought may serve. For I had thought it had bene so desyred, as none other trees' blossomes should have byn mynded, or ever hoped, if my fruite had ben denied you. And yet, by the waye, of one due doubte, that I am, as it were, by vowe or determination bent never to trade that kinde of life. Pull out that heresye; for your beleife is there awrye; for though I can thinke it best for a pryvate woman, yet doe I stryve with my self to thinke it not meete for a Prince: and if I can bende my likinge to your neede, I will not resiste such a mynde. But to the last, thinke not that you had needed this desire if I had scene a tyme

so fitt, and yet so rype to be denounced. The greatnes of the cause, and need of your returnes, dothe make me saye that which I thinke the wise may easelie gesse, that as short tyme for so longe contynuaunce ought not to passe by rote, as many tell their tales: even so as cause by conference with the learned shall shewe me matter worthie utteraunce for your behoofes, so shall I more gladly pursue your good after my dayes, then with my prayers whilest I lyve to linger my lyvinge threde. And thus much more then I had thought will I add for your comfort: I have good recorde in this place, that other meanes then you mentioned have bene thought of, perchaunce for your good, as much as for my suertye no lesse, which, if presently and conveniently could have ben executed, had not nowe bene deferred or overslipt. But I hope I shall dye in quiet with *Nunc dimittis*, which cannot be, without I see some glymps of your followinge suerlie after my graved bones.” *

Such was the Queen’s answer, if answer it can be called; for certainly it would require ingenuity in these times, or at any time, to put so many words together with so little meaning. It reads to our ears almost like a specimen of the intentionally unintelligible; and it may well be doubted, considering the subject, whether her Majesty wished to make herself more clearly understood. In the next document, to which I beg leave to direct attention, the Queen speaks more plainly, and with a remarkable simplicity of illustration, where she compares herself to a milk-maid with a pail on her arm: it occurs in her speech to Parliament on 15th March, 1576, where she also mentions the manner in which Lord Keeper Bacon had urged her to marry. Her words are these:—

“Nowe, touching daungers chiefly feared: firste, to rehearse my meaning latelye unfolded to you by the Lord Keeper, yt shall not be needfull, thoughe I must confesse my owne mislike, so much to stryve against the matter, as, if I were a milke-mayde with a payle on myne arme, whereby my private person might be little set by, I would not forsake my single state to match my selfe with the greatest monarche. Not that I doe condemne the double knott, or judge amisse of such as, forced by necessitye, cannot dispose themselves to an other life, and doe wishe that none were dryven to chaunge, but such as cannot keepe the chastest lymmitte: yet for your behoofe there is no waye so difficulte, that maye touch my private person, which I could not well content myselfe to take, and in this case as willinglye to spoyle my selfe, quite out of my selfe, as if I should put off my upper garment when it wearies me.”

* This speech is more accurately given by Strype (*Annals Reform.* 1709, p. 496) than elsewhere; he took it from Sir Simonds D'Ewes' Journal, and placed it under the year 1566.

This speech, and indeed the whole contents of this MS. volume, were avowedly derived from the papers of Sir Nicholas Bacon; and I find no account of it in Camden's Annals, made up from the papers of Lord Burghley, nor in other usual historical authorities. On this account I have made the preceding quotation; and we may be sure that the allusion to the milk-maid with a pail on her arm, and to the stripping off the upper garment of the Queen, never came from the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper, nor from any other of the grave counsellors about her Majesty. If the heads of the speech were prepared by her Ministers, such characteristic embellishments must have been supplied by the masculine and independent spirit of the Queen.

We then arrive at another document of considerable importance, although, after the abolition of the Court of Wards and Liveries, it was of course inapplicable. Before he became Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon had been Attorney of that Court, a most lucrative appointment; and on the 27th May, 1561, he addressed a letter to Sir William Cecill, then recently (Jan. 1561) made Master of the Wards, followed by a paper thus entitled:—

“Articles devised for the bringing up in vertue and learning of the Queenes Majesties Wardes, being heires male, and whose landes, descending in possession and coming to the Queenes Majestic, shall amount to the cleere yearly value of c. markes, or above.”

Lord Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors* (ii. 108), is rather disposed to treat Sir Nicholas with disparagement for the dulness and length of his speeches, adding that “he wrote a Treatise of Treason, and other works which have deservedly perished.” I own that I should have been very glad to read “a Treatise on Treason” by such a man as Lord Keeper Bacon; and it is remarkable how much practical wisdom is to be found in every thing he has left behind him: Camden, no mean authority, and no courtly flatterer, tells us that he was *ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentiâ, summâ eloquentiâ et tenaci memoriâ*, and the Dissertation on Wards now under consideration, shows that Sir William Cecill, when he became Master, appealed to Sir Nicholas Bacon, as the best and safest source of information for his guidance in his office. Let us mark what Sir Nicholas says, with such excellent sense and judgment, regarding the treatment of wards in his day. He asks the new Master of Wards to reform what he justly calls most “preposterous” abuses in the department:—

“That the proceeding hath bin preposterous appeareth by this: the chiefe thing, and most of price, in wardship is the wardes mynde; the next to that, his

bodie; the last and meanest, his land. Nowe, hitherto the chiefe care of gouernance hath bin had to the land, being the meaneste; and to the bodie, being the better, very small; but to the mynde, being the best, none at all, which methinkes is playnely to sett the carte before the horse."

Here he comes at once to the enormous and crying abuse of wardship—an abuse that never was, and never could be corrected, until the whole system was utterly abolished. We may be sure from Lord Burghley's application (when Sir William Cecill) to Sir Nicholas Bacon, that he was well disposed to remedy remediable evils; but the great evil of all—the manner in which the education of wards was shamefully neglected, while their lands were carefully cultivated, for the benefit of the Crown or of the private guardian appointed by the Crown—seemed incapable of all remedy but by extirpation.

It may appear singular that in these articles, drawn up by Sir Nicholas, so much stress is laid upon instruction in music; but it only serves to confirm the notion that the science was then most industriously cultivated by nearly every class of society. The wards are to attend divine service at six in the morning: nothing is said about breakfast, but they are to study Latin until eleven; to dine between eleven and twelve; to study with the music-master from twelve till two; from two to three they are to be with the French master; and from three to five with the Latin and Greek masters. At five they are to go to evening prayers; then they are to sup; to be allowed honest pastimes till eight; and, last of all, before they go to bed at nine, they are again to apply themselves to music under the instruction of the master. At and after the age of sixteen they were to attend lectures upon temporal and civil law, as well as *de disciplinâ militari*.

It is not necessary to insert farther details; but what I have stated will serve to show how well-bred youths of that period were usually brought up, and how disgracefully the duty of education as regards wards was neglected. Lord Burghley found himself unable to correct the mischief, though every body acknowledges that he did his best; and it lasted, more or less, as long as wardship was maintained.

It has been remarked of Sir Nicholas Bacon, that he very much confined himself to his duties of Lord Keeper in the Court of Chancery, and that he did not, as his predecessors had done, take the lead in matters of state and politics. This, to a certain extent, is true: the Great Seal was placed in his hands, without the title of Lord Chancellor, with that view; but nevertheless the Queen, the Lord Treasurer, the State Secretaries, and other high officers, certainly resorted to him, on

occasions when they stood in need of sound advice and ready assistance. Hence his duties, or rather the functions he was called upon to discharge, were multifarious and onerous. The next paper I shall notice establishes that he lent his aid even to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Walter Mildmay, in the monetary matters of the kingdom : it is headed,

“ A remembraunce how to proceede to the understandinge of the state of her Majesties revenewe, and of the reformation of the unnecessarie expenses thereof.”

Here we see a very wide and a very untrodden field of inquiry into gross abuses opened ; but it is astonishing to note in how comparatively small a space the comprehensive mind of the Lord Keeper enabled him to compress the whole subject : it occupies only four quarto pages, and yet no point seems omitted that ought to have been included. Some of Bacon's biographers have accused him of being prolix, and perhaps a few of his set-speeches (for which he obtained a reputation) appear a little too long, and a little too much interlarded with Latin quotations ; but not only was this the fault of the age, but it was a species of pedantry that, at all events, was not displeasing to the Queen. The document before us is not at all of this character : it is brief, clear, comprehensive, and effectual. First, he recommends that commissioners should ascertain the balance in the Exchequer, Tower, &c., when Elizabeth came to the throne ; next, learn what moneys, and from what sources, had been received since ; and, thirdly, inquire rigidly how it had been expended. There is no date to this able document ; but as “ Mr. Sackville ” is mentioned in it, we may be sure that it was anterior to 1567, because in that year he was created Baron Buckhurst.

It is needless to occupy time by entering into all the particulars, and stating the various heads of investigation ; but I may observe, in passing, that Sir Nicholas does not neglect the point of the expense of collection ; for whether the amount of revenue were large or small, or whether from being large it became much reduced, the cost of the machinery of collection was still continued as a source of patronage and emolument. This has been an evil existing in all times, and supported under all governments.

One of the longest products of the pen of the Lord Keeper I shall treat more briefly ; not merely because the subject has been often handled, but because, although it contains matter of much novelty and interest at the time, that novelty and interest have disappeared in our day. We are no longer at war with Spain ; she has not possession of the Netherlands, and we are not in

danger of invasion, at least from that quarter. When Sir Nicholas Bacon wrote, about the year 1575, or perhaps somewhat earlier, the necessity that England, for her own sake, should support the cause of the Protestants in the Low Countries was beginning to force itself upon the attention of public men. The Prince of Orange and the States had applied to Elizabeth for assistance; and from a paper in my MS. we gather, though the fact is no where stated, that Sir Nicholas Bacon must have been one of the distinguished persons dispatched to confer with the Prince of Orange. The minutes of this conference were taken by the Lord Keeper, and he could hardly have done so had he not been present: at the same time we are not told who were his coadjutors, the document being entitled only—

“Certen Discourses which the Prince of Orange had with at sundry tymes: sett downe by the Lo. Keeper.”

Taking it in what way we will, either that Sir Nicholas was or was not personally employed at the conferences, it is evident how much his counsel and discretion, in a question of such moment, were relied upon by the Queen and her Ministers. The great object of the Prince of Orange was to persuade Elizabeth that her own interests called upon her to interpose; and Bacon seems to have recorded all the arguments in favour of such a course with great zeal and force. He maintains that the King of Spain treated the Protestants with more rigour than “Turks, Jews, Murrians, or Infidels, the blasphemers of God’s most holy name;” and that as soon as the Spaniard had firmly settled himself in the Netherlands, he would invade England from the east, while Scotland would attack her from the north, and be abundantly, and most willingly aided by the discontented Papists all over the kingdom. The conclusion is, and the well-known decision of the Queen was, to send an army into Zealand.

According to the MS. volume in my hands, there is one point in the character of Sir Nicholas Bacon, which has been not so much slurred over, as entirely passed over, by his biographers and by our historians. It certainly presents him in an unamiable and objectionable light—I mean as the persecutor of the French residents in England. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew took place in 1572, and it naturally excited here the utmost indignation against the French generally, and against the Roman Catholics in particular, headed by the House of Guise. In the next year there had been a violent attack by the Roman Catholic Frenchmen, resident in London, upon their Protestant brethren of the same country, of which Camden (*Annal. Eliz. edit. Kennet, ii. 447*) makes mention; and these circumstances produced in England a strong feeling against all the denizens,

whether Protestant or Papist, belonging to the French nation. A bill was therefore introduced into Parliament for their speedy and effectual extrusion from our shores. Sir Nicholas Bacon seems to have been an earnest promoter of this measure; and we have here a record of his proceedings, thus entitled:—

“A second Speech by the Lo. Keeper, of great consequence, against the reteyning of the French Denizens in England.”

The bill was strongly opposed, as we learn from this paper, on the two grounds, that it was impolitic, and that it was unjust:—impolitic as inviting retaliation, and unjust as a breach of faith towards those who had settled and thriven in this country, under the protection of patents of denization. Bacon's speech is an answer, and something more, to both these arguments; and he is very strong in his expressions, if not in his reasons, making full use of the animosity between the two nations.

“Let be called to memorie (he says) their late triumph at our common losse, whereat they rejoyeed, as reckoning themselves among the victors that did the wrong, and not among us who susteyned the wrong, in whose number now they praie they may be reteyned. It was well rehersed here of late in this house, by a gentleman of this same countrie, how in Excester the Frenchmen, upon the losse of Callice, so triumphed, and kept such sturre, that the Mayor and the City were faine to rise and suppress their insolent outrage. In London here they banquetted by heaps: how they behaved themselves in Sussex I need not rehearse it; and so likewise thoroughe Englande they shewed their harts to the direct false-fyinge of their profession, the ground of their patents.”

If the French Roman Catholics had so misconducted themselves on the loss of Calais some years before, it was not wonderful that they should have redoubled their rejoicings when they heard the fate of the Protestants in Paris in 1572. Bacon's argument, if it were worth anything, must be carried the length, not merely of expelling, but actually of slaughtering, all the Frenchmen who confided in our honour and their own patents; for this is the parallel he draws:—

“Let be called [to mind] the famous vyctorie of the noble Prince, King Henry the Vth (for in such case our home examples doe like mee best), a thing not unknowen: the passed age hath left it witnessed; the age to come shall not leave it forgotten; when he, in the renowmed filde of Agineourt, had taken the beste parte of the nobility of France, which by all law and justyce ought to have lived, as Cicero saith, *Qui victi ad Imperatoris fidem confugiunt servandi sunt*, if a higher dutie had not allowed their death: yet, when he saw a freshe armye of

the enemy marche towards him, he caused all his prisoners to be ymediatlie slayne. His yelden prisoners had done nothing against the faith and dutie of trewe prisoners; yet, for that they might doe, and for that being Frenchmen they were likelie enough to have will to doe, this noble Prince wiselie, and, as I thinke, justly slewe them all."

An advocate must indeed have been hard pressed for arguments, who would resort to such a precedent, as a conqueror of our own time repeated, to the indignation and horror of all civilized states. However, Sir Nicholas avowed that he did not mean to pursue the denizens of France to any such extremities: nevertheless, he was strongly in favour of an act of the grossest injustice, coupled with a breach of national faith; and but for this speech, which has come down to us on unquestionable authority, we should have deemed it impossible that he would have adopted any such course of reasoning. The only palliation we can offer is the state of the times, and the fears of timid politicians, who saw the life of the Queen daily threatened by assassins, and wars impending in the south from Spain, in the north from Scotland, in the east from France and the Netherlands, and in the west from Ireland. England was in fact surrounded by enemies.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Maidenhead, 4th March, 1856.

XXXII. *On some remarkable Sepulchral objects from Italy, Styria, and Mecklenburgh.* By JOHN MITCHELL KEMBLE.

Read December 13, 1855.

I AM anxious to direct attention to certain very remarkable figures and combinations of figures, the most of which have been found in interments, in various parts of Europe, in the hope that notice of them may induce some member of the Society of Antiquaries to pursue their history further than I can do. It lies somewhat beyond the strict limits which I am compelled to put to my studies, and deserves a more exclusive treatment than I have time to bestow upon it: but it seems a subject likely to repay a careful investigation.

Some years ago, namely in 1843, a large but somewhat flat tumulus was opened at Peccatel, a village not very far from the town of Schwerin. In it were found—together with a sword, a knife, and other articles of bronze, and a gracefully-formed twisted armlet of gold—the four wheels and axles, with curved axletrees, of a bronze waggon of diminutive size. The account of this discovery, which is recorded in the Ninth Yearly Report of the Historical and Antiquarian Society of Schwerin (p. 369, etc.) when divested of redundant and irrelevant matter, is as follows:—

In the year mentioned, a golden bracelet was offered for sale to the Society, with the statement that it had been found by a peasant while digging for stones on the south side of a barrow at Peccatel. On inquiry the finder stated that he had also found bits of copper, which he still possessed, with the exception of two wheels of copper: these he had given a neighbouring blacksmith in exchange for some iron nails. The first steps taken were to prohibit any further excavation, to recover the bartered wheels, and the rest of the bits of copper, and to survey the barrow. It was found of sufficient importance to be opened by the Society, and the grand ducal family, male and female, honoured the excavation with their presence. This was carefully and skilfully conducted by that accomplished barrow-digger Archivar Dr. Lisch, and the then court-painter Schumacher, to whose

hand we owe the excellent drawings which accompany the report. The barrow was the middle one of three, one being larger, one smaller: it had a diameter of about fifty paces, and a perpendicular height of five feet. The smallest barrow, which was opened upon the same occasion, offered no results at all. The largest, concerning which a number of strange traditions were current among the villagers, was left untouched at the time, but has since been explored, and proved to be most remarkable; with it, however, we have nothing to do at present.

The barrow which was to be investigated was surrounded by a perfect ring or wall of closely packed stones, of middling size, that is, as my own experience teaches, about the size of our old paving stones. It was, as is also generally the case with the North German tumuli, invisible: that is to say, completely covered with earth and turf at the base of the barrow. This was pronounced by the labourers employed to consist of earth brought from some distance, and was not at all events of the same material as the surrounding plain. Within this earth were three *vaults*, as Lisch calls them, by which, however, he means rather stone-heaps or cairns, as we name them. Two stood together, very near the centre of the barrow, running nearly north and south, and were united by a sort of dam, an arrangement, by the bye, which I once found in a barrow at Armelingen, in the heath-district of *Soltau*: they were 6 feet long, 4 wide, and 4 high. The third lay in the southern edge of the barrow, in the direction from east to west, and before it was broken into had been 16 feet long and 10 wide. The man who had dug out the stones reported that it had been about 3 feet high. These cairns were all most carefully investigated. We begin with the largest. This had still a regular pavement of stones, laid upon the natural ground, which was thickly strewn with ashes and charcoal. Upon it had been found:—

1. The large vessel of bronze, represented Plate XXVI. fig. 1. It is of hammered metal, repoussé with several rows of small knobs, and had originally four twisted handles. It has a greatest diameter of 15 inches, and a height of about 7.

2. A cylinder of bronze with four feet; it is of the same workmanship as the vase, only a rather thicker metal (fig. 2). Its diameter is a little more than 3 inches, its height with the feet 6.

3. The waggon, as represented in fig. 3. This has bent axletrees forming a kind of yoke athwart the beam, and from the fragments we may believe that similar bent rods or yokes ran lengthwise, and connected the two axletrees together. This appears also from the rivets by which the several portions have been fastened together. And from another fragment equally riveted upon the same spot, it seems nearly certain that the feet of the cylinder were fixed at these

Fig. 16.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 15.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.

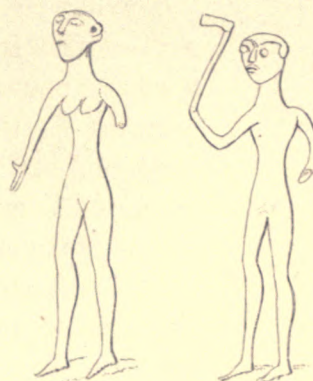


Fig. 5.

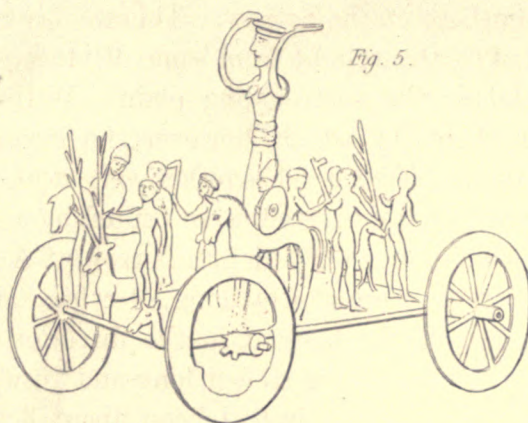


Fig. 11.

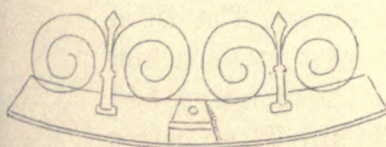


Fig. 1.

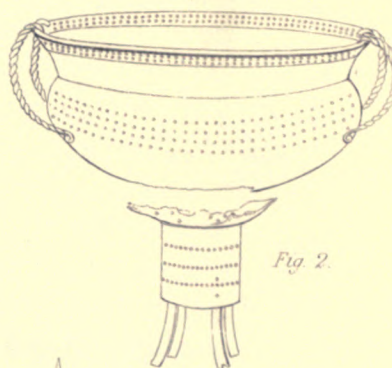


Fig. 2.

Fig. 6.

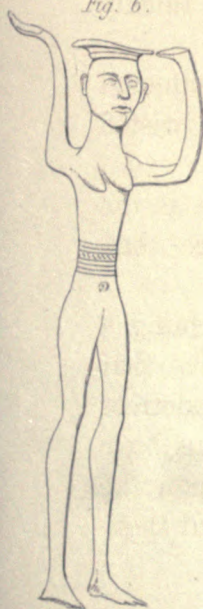


Fig. 14.



Fig. 3.

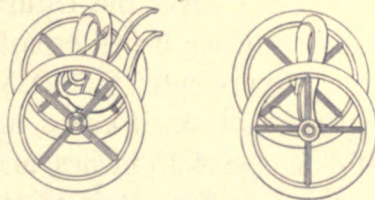


Fig. 4.

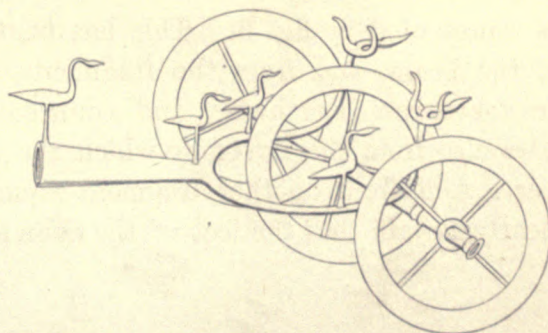


Fig. 12.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 13.



SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS FROM ITALY & GERMANY.

four points. If this were so, the cylinder stood just over the bent rods and yokes; and, as upon the top of the cylinder a portion of a bronze vessel is riveted, which answers as nearly as can now be expected to the missing bottom of the vase, there can be little doubt that the three several parts were combined together, and that the waggon carried both vase and cylinder. In its present dilapidated and oxydated state, it could not do so, but it may be supposed to have been originally firm enough, if, as is probable, the bottom of the cylinder rested on the arched rods themselves. The wheels are four-spoked, and have evidently been cast, not hammered like the vase and cylinder. It is probable that the side rods had been bent upwards at each end of the waggon alike, in the manner in which one still remains. The manner in which these several portions were described to have lain under the stones renders it nearly certain that they were connected in the way described. The man who found them stated that the "kettle" stood at the eastern end of the heap; that the cylinder with its feet was in it, and the wheels &c. under it, all crushed together by the weight of the stones.

4. The fourth object found was a sword of bronze, of the usual leaf-shape, rather more than two feet long, which had been broken into four pieces before it was deposited. The handle and pommel are, as far as I know, perfectly unique, although they bear a general resemblance in some details to other bronze swords found upon the continent. The pommel, which is hollow, is filled with the wood of the ash. The strig or tang is divided off by oval plates, obviously intended to compress leather, ivory, or whatever material may have been selected to clothe the hilt.

5. A knife of bronze, with a handle of the same metal, opened for the insertion of the material of the handle, and with a square knob to compress the same.

6. The armlet of gold of which mention has been made. The metal contains nearly ten per cent. of silver, which seems to be rather a larger proportion than can be accounted for by mere imperfection of separating the metals.

7. A kelt of bronze, of a form very unusual in the North of Germany; it is socketed and looped, but the opening is rather square than round, and the ornamentation reminds one a little of Irish and English specimens of the flat or simple form.

All these objects had been found at the first excavation. The following now also came to light.

8. An arrow-head of bronze, with barbs.

9. The bronze blade of a small knife, four inches long, without a handle, and in three pieces, with original fracture.

In this interment there was not even a trace of earthen vessels ; nor do I find any notice either of bones or other animal deposit. As these are the objects with which I have to deal, we will pass rapidly over the contents of the remaining two cairns. The most westerly of these contained, besides a small square piece of thin bronze plate, much injured by fire, a very interesting object which may possibly have been a belt, or even part of a defensive armour. It consists of leather, upon which bronze studs of different sizes have been fixed, and is sufficiently massive to resist even a sharp spear. Similar studs have been found in graves of the Lüneburg district by Lieut.-Gen. Count Münster, Baron v. Estorff, and myself.

The eastern cairn, which lay about five feet from the western one, contained, dispersed among the stones—

1. An urn of clay of very common form, without any ornament.
2. A long bronze pin, richly ornamented.
3. A brooch of bronze, with spiral plates, of the usual character.
4. A finger-ring of bronze, in which the bone still lay.

In the neighbourhood of this heap lay *unburnt* bones of a skull, scattered disorderly. But at the north end of the western cairn was a small rude heap of stones, under and among which were also found,—

1. Two common arm-rings of bronze.
2. A common neck-ring of the same metal.
3. A brooch with spiral plates.
4. A square plate of thin bronze.

Such is the account of this certainly very remarkable tumulus.

To return now to our waggon. It is clear that this was intended to carry and convey the vase, something in the manner of those dinner-waggons, known to the good old times, when it was thought necessary for the decanters to go round smoothly as well as fast. German archæologists, however, not being called upon to know anything of this now obsolete and therefore antiquarian custom, pronounced waggon, cylinder, and vase, to be parts of a sacrificial instrument of some sort or other, which it is in truth too much the fashion to do with everything whose application to the uses of daily life is not immediately perceived. The most important matter was obviously the waggon, for Roman vases, patellæ, and sieves of bronze are no rarities upon the coasts of the East sea ; accordingly, the archæologists of Mecklenburg set themselves to discover, wherever they could, on horns, or monuments, or the like, traces of waggons, in which search, as might be anti-

icipated, they met with tolerable success, finding in time not only waggons, but even horses and drivers, engraved or carved on various articles of good antiquity; but waggons carrying vases riveted upon cylinders they certainly did not find, and accordingly, for all but themselves the Peccatel bronze remained in all its mystery.

Lisch, however, who had persuaded himself that this bronze vase agreed in character with other bronzes of what he calls the bronze age, and that it resembled in form the clay vessels of the same period, and who besides sees, in all bronze whatever from tumuli, the reliques of a Germanic race, unhesitatingly claimed this for German heathendom. For my part I have never yet seen any bronze of indigenous workmanship repoussé, or resembling this at all in form, till the much later period which Lisch calls the age of iron, and ascribes to the Slavonians; and if I were called upon to seek for an analogon for our vase, I should look for it among Etruscan rather than German bronzes. However, Germanic it was to be; and this theory was taken to have received confirmation from a second discovery made at Frankfort on the Oder in the year 1851-2.^a (Plate XXVI. fig. 4). This was an implement—for I really cannot call it a waggon—consisting of a hollow tubular handle, ending in a fork, the ends of which turn upwards, and which is fastened upon an axletree arranged so as to carry three wheels, two at the extremities outside the prongs of the fork, and one within these at the middle of the axletree; but for the third wheel the whole thing might remind us of those Etruscan firetongs, also mounted upon wheels, in the British Museum. The wheels themselves are nearly of the same size as those in the museum at Schwerin. The most noticeable peculiarity of this was that on the handle or pole, as Lisch considered it, stood two bronze figures of long-necked and long-beaked birds, one at the opening of the socket, one at the point where the prongs diverge to form a fork. One more such bird stood near the middle of each prong, and the two turned-up ends were likewise surmounted and finished off with larger, but similar, figures of birds, which differed from the others not only in their size, but in having “horns or wings” at the back of their heads. Waggons being uppermost in everybody’s thoughts, this three-wheeled instrument was to be one also, although the so-called pole becomes thicker in proportion as it recedes from the axles, and all the birds, with or without horns, are looking in the diametrically opposite direction to that in which the waggon must move. Lisch, and Grimm, acting upon his information, supposing these waggons to be in some way connected with Germanic heathendom, explained them to be symbolical of Woden, the Great Bear, Charles’s Wain, and so forth. In

^a Described Meklenb. Archiv. xvi. 261, *seq.*

the paper describing this Frankfort implement, mention was made of another such waggon found at Warin in Meeklenburgh, but now, as it appears, lost,^a and to wheels of bronze found at Frisack. I may add, that similar but smaller wheels were found many years ago at Frankfort on the Oder, under what circumstances I do not know, and are now in the National Museum at Berlin.

The birds recalled also to mind a number of similar figures mounted as buttons, or ornaments of dress, which had been dug up at Vietgest, and are now at Schwerin;^b to which I may add, that several hundreds of the same kind, found at Hohenwalde near Landsberg, in Prussia, may also be seen in the Berlin Museum. Here the matter rested at the close of the year 1852; but from the third number of the Publications of the Historical Society of Styria, for the year 1852, which appeared in 1853, we learned that a still more striking discovery had been made in a barrow at Judenburg, in that province. Among a vast number of various articles of bronze, iron, and gold, the fragments of a bronze waggon had also been found, which, when carefully put together, presented an astonishing object. The car had a flat bottom, 12 inches in length by $7\frac{1}{4}$ in width. The four wheels were about the same size as those at Schwerin, namely, 5 inches in diameter, with very wide fellies. At each end of the waggon were two heads of animals, with necks much bent, like the letter S, one at each corner. These were assumed to be horses' heads, with very long ears; but may possibly be only such figures as those at the forked ends of the Frankfort instrument, namely, heads of *bulls*.

The waggon itself carried a most remarkable group of figures (Plate XXVI. fig. 5). The central one is 9 inches high, female, and entirely naked, save that a sort of girdle goes round the body above the hips (Plate XXVI. fig. 6). It is very slender, and reminds one in many respects of early Etruscan work, such as the Martes and Minervas in the British Museum, which have been so often engraved. The hands are raised to a level with the head, and appear, with this, to have supported some kind of vessel—a plate, bowl, or vase, several of which were in fact found with it. Around this are placed other figures, each about 4 inches high, forming two corresponding groups, one looking towards the one, the other towards the other end of the waggon. Firstly, in the central place of each end, between the heads of horses, or whatever they may be, is the head and body of a stag with lofty antlers, but without legs, standing upon a peg or pin, like the birds of the Frankfort implement. The heads are $2\frac{1}{2}$, the antlers $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, so that the whole figure of the stag measures 6 inches. On each side of it, and grasping an

^a Meklenb. Archiv. xv. 276.

^b Ibid. xv. 268.

antler with one hand, are two human, but sexless, figures (Plate XXVI. fig. 7); these complete the front row, which thus consists of five figures in the following order: a horse's or other head; a sexless human figure; a stag; a sexless human figure; a horse's or other head.

The second row at each end, upon the space left between the outer one and the central female figure, is filled also by two human figures, one male, one female, with strongly marked characteristic signs of sex (Plate XXVI. fig. 8). The male holds an axe in one hand which, together with the arm, is uplifted. The whole group is completed by the addition of four figures on horseback, each 5 inches high. They represent men with high caps or helmets, armed with spear and shield, and are placed two and two, on each side of the principal figure, upon the longer sides of the bottom plate, looking towards the contrary ends of the waggon (Plate XXVI. fig. 9). All the female figures have their ears bored, and the remains of earrings: *and at the back of the head of each is a loop or ring, to hold similar ornaments.*

From the appearance of the patina, the alloy was conjectured to be of a very debased character, that is, to contain a large proportion of lead: subsequent analysis, however, did not bear out this supposition. One portion, upon investigation, gave—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	87.34
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	8.19
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	4.47
Nickel and Iron	.	.	.	.	.	trace.
						100.00

Another was even purer, and seemed to show that the presence of lead, already noticed, was probably accidental:—

Copper	.	.	.	.	.	91.05
Tin	.	.	.	.	.	8.27
Lead	.	.	.	.	.	0.61
Iron	.	.	.	.	.	0.07
						100.00

Together with this extraordinary composition, the following objects were found:—

1. An ornamented bronze kelt, with loop and socket, of unusual size, being 11·25 inches long, 2·25 inches broad at the cutting end. The ornament, which consists of fine flutes or ribs, is also unusual (Plate XXVI. fig. 10).

2. A bronze vase apparently intended for suspension by its two twisted handles. The rim was broken off; round the belly was a band with knobs or bumps, such as we see on very early Italian work. It had a height of 13 inches. Its mouth at present has a diameter of 6·5 inches, and its greatest diameter is 16 inches. It was filled with burnt bones, ashes, and sand, and was therefore a mortuary urn.

3. A second, but much larger vessel or kettle, of the same metal.

4. What is supposed to be the lower part of a helmet, but is unfortunately neither described nor figured. The bronze of which this object consisted had been gilt.

5. Numerous fragments of bronze dishes or bowls, the handles of which are ornamented with rings which jingle at every movement of the vessels.

6. Girdle plates of stamped or repoussé bronze.

7. Fragments of a bronze sieve or colander.

8. Bronze handles, apparently cast upon iron rods, about a finger thick, much in the same way as the bronze is cast upon the feet of the iron chairs discovered at Nineveh.

9. Horses' bits of iron, with bronze ornaments, close to which,

10. A very large bronze kettle.

11. A circular rim of bronze, with raised ornament of spiral work (Plate XXVI. fig. 11).

12. Several bronze rods of twisted work, 25 inches in diameter.

13. Several bronze rings of various sizes, the largest 2·5 inches in diameter.

14. Fragments of very coarse and very fine pottery.

15. A number of amber beads. (Query if not yellow glass?)

16. Two iron spears, each about 18 inches long, iron rods, and what is described as the iron felly of a wheel, but may very likely be the rim of a shield. It is ·5 inch thick, and 2·3 inches wide.

17. A spiral gold finger-ring of double wire, about the thickness of a packing-needle, twisted together at the ends and wound spirally. The whole length of the wire is 10·25 inches; also a second ring half melted, and a small cylindrical bead of the same metal.

The reporter, Dr. Robitsch, after giving the long and elaborate account from which these extracts have been made, proceeds upon very meagre grounds to contend for the Slavonic origin of these objects, and during his argument

mentions incidentally the occurrence of a second similar waggon in a tumulus at Radkersberg, also in Styria. An account of this, as well as other objects discovered with it, and now preserved in the castle of Freudenau, was given by Archivar Dr. Pratobevera in the fourth number of the same Society's Transactions.

From this it appears that the find at Radkersberg consisted of—

1. A bronze sword with a solid hilt, of a very unusual form, but still one that approaches some forms found in Gaul, or other parts of the continent. Vide Plate XXVI. fig. 12.

2. Fragments and wheels of one or, perhaps, two waggons, of much the same size as those already mentioned.

3. A circular bronze plate, 4·5 inches in diameter, with a central hole, and twelve spikes or pegs placed at equal distances round the edge.

4. Two pair of hollow rods of bronze, each pair forming a rectangle. These may possibly have been corners of the waggon-frame.

5. A bronze ring one-third of an inch in thickness, and 1·75 inch in diameter within.

6. A bronze kelt (Plate XXVI. fig. 13) 7·25 inches in length, with a socket and loop, a good deal resembling the kelts found in Magna Grecia, but not those found in France, Germany, or England.

7. A ring with seven spikes placed upon a socketed shaft, with a rivet-hole to secure some kind of handle. The diameter of the ring is 3 inches; the whole length with the socket 6 inches. The opening of the socket itself 1·33 inch.

8. A bronze hair-pin with knob.

9. Five iron spears of different sizes, with sockets for shafts.

10. Fragments of unburnt bones and common rude pottery. The reporter Dr. Pratobevera, in a long and frequently very irrelevant dissertation, annihilates Dr. Robitsch and his Slavonian theory, and contends that these antiquities, as well as those of Judenburg, are of Keltic origin,—that the Gauls, during their settlement in Upper Italy, may have made them in imitation of the Etruscans, and left them behind in Styria, during one of their many migrations into those alpine regions.

So much for waggons and wheels of small size, discovered in several parts of Germany, with adjuncts of interesting character. Before I leave them I will refer, in order to guard against error, to other bronze wheels from Transylvania. A pair of these in Mr. Mayer's admirable museum in Liverpool have a diameter of nearly 2 feet, and a width of felly of 1 inch. They can hardly have been actual wheels in use, but probably formed part of some Roman group or ornament from the period when Trajan succeeded in dompting the Dacians.

The matter of which I treat was destined, however, to become still more complicated and interesting, upon the addition of elements which are as yet unknown in Germany. While engaged in drawing a number of the bronzes in the British Museum, my attention was accidentally called to two very extraordinary groups belonging to Mr. Payne Knight's collection. I will attempt to describe these as well as I can, though they will be best understood from the engraving (Plate XXVII. fig. 1). The first consists of a circular plate of bronze, 10 inches in diameter, surrounded by a rim of the same metal, half an inch in width. This rim is divided at equal distances by ten bronze figures of birds, exactly resembling those upon the Frankfort implement, and ten bronze pomegranates, arranged alternately. The pomegranates are formed of thin bronze, cut out to the necessary form of a cross, and then bent up so as to resemble the calix of a flower, the centre being filled by a large bead of yellow, or of light bluish-green glass, which is fastened to the metal plate below by a wire passing through both. From four points in the lower plate there rise four twisted rods, converging towards the top, and there supporting a second bronze circular plate, five inches in diameter. The foot of each rod is formed by one of the pomegranates already described, and the rod itself is of spirally-twisted wire, increasing in thickness towards the bottom, where the whole rod, as it rests on the bead, has a diameter of about $\cdot 5$ inch. Each rod consists of two separate parts, thus growing thicker towards the base: the lower part is five, the upper four inches long; they are united in the middle by a pomegranate and bead like the rest, and are surmounted by the same where they join the upper plate: the whole is at present kept together by modern wire running within the rods from the upper to the lower surfaces of the two plates. The whole figure, which thus is 10 inches high, now presents the appearance of a pyramid or tent, with four pillars supporting the roof. The area of the base is thus filled: Between the pillars or rods on the north and south sides, close to the rim, are fixed two bronze triangular figures surmounted with rings, cut out of one piece of bronze plate, and decorated with open work and pendent rings. These appear almost to have been handles by which the whole structure might be suspended or carried. Immediately within these, and standing a little across the corners, N.E. N.W. S.E. S.W., are four human figures with very animal faces. Their arms are perfectly semicircular, reaching on one side from the head to the shoulder, on the other, from the shoulder to the hip, so as to form something like a capital **S**: in the ears are earrings, and at the back of the head holes to receive similar ornaments. The rings appear to consist always of a system of five, two single ones passing through one another, and the lower supporting three.

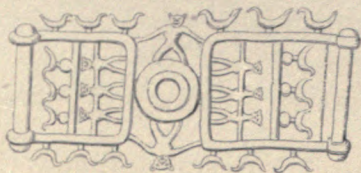


Fig. 8.

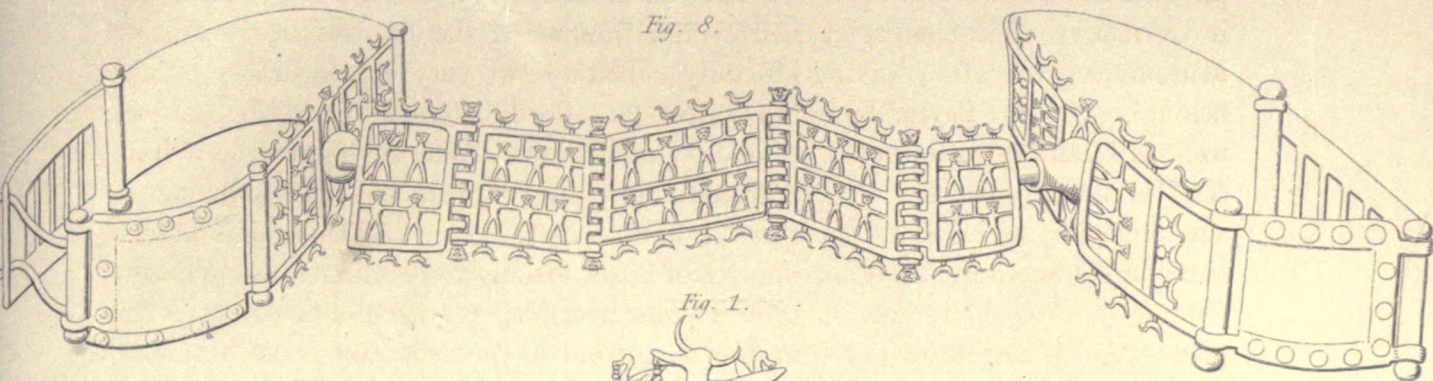


Fig. 1.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 9.

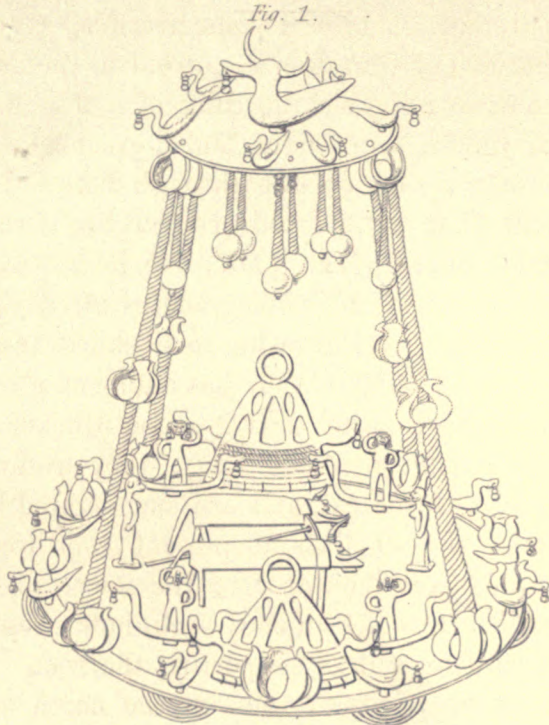


Fig. 1.

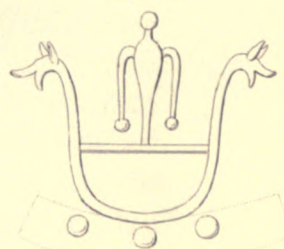


Fig. 10.



Fig. 3.

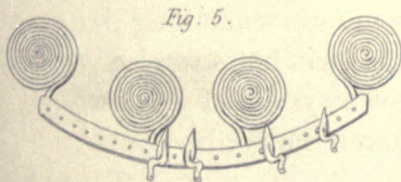


Fig. 5.

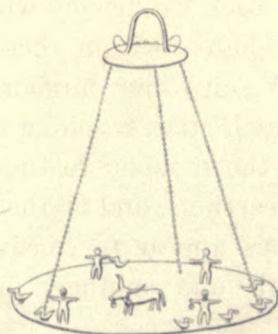


Fig. 7.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 4.

SEPULCHRAL OBJECTS FROM ITALY & GERMANY.



These figures have no signs of sex. They stand upon something for which I find it very difficult to give a name: the object resembles in some respects the Scandinavian figure of ships, with upturned dragonheads, consisting of a straight rod of metal, about two inches long, bent up at each end into a neck and head, like a snake's or perhaps a bird's, and having a hole in the snout from which hang the five rings. The exact centre of the field is filled with a yoke of very rudely-shaped oxen, horned, with the yoke on their necks, and from this runs a long bronze wire between them, which is obviously only a portion of something intended to represent a plough. One horn of each ox is ornamented with torc-like rings close to the head, and from the ears and dewlap there probably depended the system of five rings already described. Behind and before the oxen (in the latter case with the face turned towards them) stands a human figure, with a head of extremely animal character, with large feet, bent arms, and largely developed organs of both sexes, the breasts sharp and prominent, the *veretrum* of disproportioned size. The upper plate, which forms the roof of the pavilion under which this strange group is collected, is ornamented externally, upon the rim, with six birds similar to those of the lower plate, having long beaks or snouts, from which depend five rings: and in the centre is a similar figure, having horns, exactly like the larger objects in the Frankfort implement, which may perhaps be best described as bird-shaped bodies with bulls' heads, but wingless. From the under side of this roof hang eight pendants, formed in the same manner as the pillars, of twisted wire, and ending in beads of coloured glass, of which one only is blue or green, the rest a pale straw colour. Four of these, which are rather larger than the others, hang at equal intervals from the rim, between the pillars or supports, and have beads at the top also, directly under the plate. The smaller four, which hang rather more under the plate, are without these upper beads.

The second of these compositions, also in Mr. Payne Knight's collection, is in every respect similar to the first, save that the pomegranates upon the lower rim are wanting, the birds, of which there are twenty, not ten, remaining alone, and that the pillars and roof are likewise omitted. Under each bird, which in every case stands not upon legs, but upon a kind of peg or pin, is fixed upon the lower side of the bronze plate a spiral of bronze wire, about 1·5 inch in diameter, exactly resembling the spirals of the North German brooches: these are intended to fasten the birds, whose foot goes through to them. I should have said that this is the case also with the first composition. The dimensions of the several figures are as follows:—

Men, upon ships, or snakes	2·5	inches long, 2	inches high.
Phallie figures	2·75	„	high.
Oxen, from snout to tail	4·5	„	long, $1\frac{7}{8}$ „ high.
Diam. of spirals at foot	1·5	„	
Birds, from snout to tail	1·5	„	long, ·75 „ high.
Bull on cover	2·5	„	long, $1\frac{6}{8}$ „ high,
		{ to head, without the horns.	

Together with these there were found the following objects of bronze and iron :—

1. A circular bronze plate, similar to that which forms the canopy of the first composition, but a little smaller, being 4 inches instead of 5 inches in diameter, and having ten in lieu of six aquatic birds round the rim, which alternate with ten beads of coloured glass. The centre is occupied by the same composite animal between a bull and bird. Instead of pendants below there is an acus of wire with a twisted spring, by which the whole is converted into a fibula of very unwieldy dimensions (Plate XXVII. fig. 2).

2. A hollow bronze staff, $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, but apparently broken off at one end. The end which remains is finished in a knob of open or basket work, from which depends a cluster of five rings, such as is described above. This lower part, which may perhaps be called the handle, is cast solid, and ornamented with successive circles, like juxtaposed torcs. The upper part, which is hollow, and seems to have been hammered together, is ornamented with parallel and cross lines, engraved or scratched upon the surface, and very rudely executed.

3. Another hollow staff, 11 inches long, ·5 inches diameter, ornamented at each end with torcs, and throughout its length with parallel rows of vandyke scratches. At each end is a loop or ear for the reception of a cluster of rings, the lower of which is still *in situ*.

4. A large knife, the blade, which is of iron, much decomposed. The handle is similar to that of No. 2, but is thicker, having a maximum width of 1 inch, and 7 inches in length. It ends in a knob of basket-work, to which is appended a bird, from whose beak and tail clusters of rings have been hung. This handle is ornamented with parallel torcs and engraved lines (Plate XXVI. fig. 14).

5. Another, and smaller knife, with a plain handle and iron blade. Mr. Payne Knight states, that all these various objects were taken from a tomb in Campania.

Sir William Hamilton, whose collection was principally made in Italy, possessed

several articles of the same character, which are now also preserved in the British Museum :—

1. A pair of fibulæ, of semicircular form, about 4·5 inches diameter. They are formed of two concentric flat segments, united by cross pieces at right angles to the chord of the arc, and are about one-third of an inch apart. On the outer one stand five, on the inner three, birds of the kind so often alluded to. The outer rim is also pierced with twelve small holes, at rather irregular distances, which may possibly have been intended for the suspension of chains similar to certain breast ornaments in Professor Bähr's Livonian collection. In this case the rim must have been worn downwards, the beaks of the birds turning upwards. The acus is connected in the usual way with a spiral spring ; and both are, in fact, only a continuation of the outer rim or plate upon which the five birds are riveted (Plate XXVII. fig. 3).

2. A bronze fibula (or perhaps a pair), 7 inches long, consisting of a flat strip of bronze, about half an inch wide, ending at one extremity in a spiral wire, with an acus, at the other in a catch, by which the whole is fastened in the usual way. In the centre of the bronze strip is riveted one of the composite figures alluded to, having the body of a bird and the head of an ox with spreading horns. As it at present stands, this figure has been riveted upon the wrong side of the strip of bronze, most likely through the carelessness of a modern restorer (Plate XXVII. fig. 4).

3. A similar figure, probably once forming a part of a similar fibula.

4. A flat strip of bronze, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide, bored at irregular intervals for the reception of twenty-two birds, seven of which still remain *in situ*.

There are still two or three fibulæ of cognate form in the British Museum, but which cannot be referred exactly either to Mr. Knight's, Sir William Hamilton's, or Mr. Townley's collections.

5. Two other and similar strips, with birds and rivet-holes for some now missing. Upon the longer of these are riveted volutes of wire, vertically disposed, and a little reminding us of the Styrian volutes already noticed. But as it is apparent that this strip has been lined with a new plate, it is uncertain whether the volutes were originally placed as we now see them. It is possible that this piece of bronze may have been the rim or finish of a plate such as Mr. Payne Knight's (Plate XXVII. fig. 5).

6. Among the bronzes of the British Museum, some derived from the collections already noticed, and some from Mr. Townley's, are a large number of extraordinary figures of animals, as rams, oxen, horses, and the like. They have this

peculiarity, that some, as the bulls, are double-headed, that is, have a head at each end of the body : some have one head at one end, two heads at the other. They have mostly eyelet-holes, by which they would seem to have been suspended; and it is very remarkable that upon the heads and cruppers of several of these animals are diminutive figures of birds (Plate XXVII. fig. 9). A very long, slender human figure, does perhaps not strictly belong to this set; and the same may be the case with the extraordinary group (Plate XXVI. fig. 16) of a man ploughing with two oxen, so disposed that one looks one way, the other in the opposite direction. Indeed both the style and the patina seem to show that this was at all events not found together with the rest.

An interesting addition to our materials still remains to be noticed. In Dr. Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1843), vol. i. pl. xviii. and p. 58, we have a long dissertation upon the copy of a mystic cista, the original of which is said to have been in Baron v. Koller's collection, but to have found its way to England. To this cist in general there are grave objections, with which we have at present nothing to do. What is for us most remarkable is, that the cist, which represents a scene of the mysteries, in a very high style of Greek art, should have had in place of a cover, just such a plate as those which I have described (Plate XXVI. fig. 6). The centre is occupied by precisely the same figure as occurs in Mr. Payne Knight's plates, viz. a human form, standing upon the dragon or ship-shaped rod, with upturned ends and heads, and having its arms bent into the form of a capital **S**. This figure Dr. Gerhard, not knowing anything of ours, erroneously conjectures to be a Hercules. The rim is garnished with rude figures of animals, and men with animal's heads; so that this so-called *cover* is in fact identical in principle with the compositions which have engaged our attention; and, whatever may be thought of the cista itself, or its connection with the cover, the genuineness of the latter cannot be disputed. It is recorded to have been found in the Basilicata, in the neighbourhood of Naples, and a number of figures of animals, and the like, came together with the copy into the Berlin collection, all of which are said to have been deposited in the cista itself. These are described by Gerhard as consisting of "seven tolerably human figures, with out-stretched arms, and an eighth with a pointed cap, holding the right hand before the face; two others with indistinct heads of animals; three stags; twenty other quadrupeds, perhaps horses; *fourteen pigeons, and eight larger birds*, principally joined with small plates, and ringed ornaments;" by which I suppose him to mean the volutes or spirals of wire, and the nose or ear rings which are commonly found with these birds.

Still more important, however, for us is a composition which he adduces in illustration, from the Borgia collection, and which he calls a scale. It consists of a plate bearing the closest resemblance to Mr. Payne Knight's. In the centre is one ox, with the five rings dependent from the mouth, and one of the ears. There are also four human figures with outstretched arms, with earrings, and rings at the back of the head. Above all, the rim is filled up with figures of birds, riveted down over volutes of spiral wire. The lower plate depends by three chains from a smaller one, which is not ornamented, but is furnished with a sort of handle by which the whole might be carried (Plate XXVII. fig. 7).

I have further to mention that some time ago there was purchased for the British Museum from M. Comarmond of Lyons, a massive bronze object, which he considered might be a pair of panther's collars, with a strong connecting couple. The whole of this consists of open work, produced by combinations of human figures with animal heads, and birds; all of which bear a great resemblance to those which have already engaged our attention. It is not positively known whence this collar originally came; but the choice appears to lie only between France and Italy (Plate XXVII. fig. 8).

It may also be noticed, that some years ago an implement of bronze, ending in a kind of forked hook, was discovered in Ireland. The handle is ornamented with seven figures of birds, placed upon the upper side, as in the case of the forked hook from Frankfort on the Oder, and below each of these is a pendant ring.

Lastly, in the hand of a statue from the well-known archaic tomb at Vulci, is a figure resembling a bird, but with two very large horns of gilt wire.

If now we review all the points of resemblance between these several groups of archæological data, we have the following results, as indicia for the foundation of a theory.

At Peccatel, in Mecklenburg; at Judenburg and Radkersburg, in Styria; at Warin, Frisack, and Frankfort on the Oder, we have waggons, or wheels indicating waggons, upon which something was or might be carried. And we may add, that in that ancient tomb at Vulci were likewise two waggons, with wheels of about the same diameter as those at Judenburg, and with horses' heads and necks at each end, looking opposite ways.

At Frankfort on the Oder we have also wheels attached to an implement which do not appear to be those of a waggon, unless indeed this be construed symbolically, as the circles on Gaulish coins are the representatives of chariots.

At Peccatel, as at Judenburgh, the waggons were accompanied by bronze bowls

or vases, and by bronze kelts of unusual forms. At Judenburg the waggon was surmounted by a group of figures of unusual but very marked forms, and in a recognizable style of art.

In the Payne Knight collection are two circular plates, surmounted with figures in a similar style of art. The identity of treatment in the suspension of ear-rings and hair-rings to these figures is particularly observable.

Some of these figures, namely, those of birds, and oxen with the bodies of birds, are the same as those which have been shown to be placed upon the so-called waggon from Frankfort on the Oder: the same birds have been found at Vietgest in Mecklenburg, and in great numbers near Landsberg in Prussia. They are identical with others upon fibulæ in Sir William Hamilton's collection, which were no doubt obtained in Italy, and probably in Naples, and others still upon a plate given out as the cover to a cist possessed by Baron v. Koller, and what Gerhardt calls a "scale" in the Borgia collection, which last two were certainly found in the neighbourhood of that city.

There is a possibility that similar bulls' heads ornament the corners of the Judenburg waggon; but it is nevertheless possible that these may be, as the Styrian *savans* state, heads of horses. If this be so, they answer to the horses' heads which decorate the opposite ends of the waggons found in the antique and perhaps pre-Etruscan tomb at Vulci, in which the traces of Assyrian, as well as Egyptian, influence are singularly prominent.

With the Peccatel waggon were deposited a kelt and a sword of bronze; so also with that at Radkersburg; and a bronze kelt was also found, together with the waggon, at Judenburg. None of these are of the forms or types usual in Germany, in the British Islands, or in Scandinavia; but some of them resemble types found in Gaul, in Greece, and in Italy.

At Radkersburg and Judenburg there further occurred, together with the bronze kelts and sword, spear-heads and other articles of iron. The Payne Knight bronzes were also accompanied by knives with iron blades, which were set in handles ornamented with the same figures of birds as those at Frankfort, on the Borgia scale, and with the same combinations of rings as that at Judenburg.

Birds and men, with heads of animals, appear on the couples purchased from M. Comarmond. Birds upon the Irish hook, and a bird with spreading horns like those of an ox decorates the hand of an archaic figure at Vulci.

This is a summing up of our data, and from it it is clear that there are several (strangely complicated) points of resemblance between some or all of those objects from so many different localities, and that there is a probability of their having

some connection with one another, whatever this may be. I give you the elements of a theory, without presuming to complete it. Οὐ φρόντισ Ἰπποκλείδῃ. It is not my business. It is no Teutonic matter.

Mr. Payne Knight was of opinion that his plates were connected with some ancient form of religion in Upper Italy, and intentional imitations of a rude and archaic style of art. He says, "From the place where they were found it is probable that they were of Oscan or Campanian work, though no conclusion can be drawn from the style concerning either the age or the country in which they were produced; both the design and execution being affectedly rude and barbarous, evidently intended to imitate the first feeble attempts of savages in their carvings in wood. It is probable, however, from the blades of the sacrificing knives being of iron, that they are not of very remote antiquity, all very ancient utensils of this kind being of brass, hardened by a mixture of tin, which produces a metal inferior only to good steel." He then adds: "This curious set of mystical and symbolical instruments was found in a tomb in Campania, not far from —, in the year —." These blanks in his MS. are to be regretted. I suppose the objects really were found in Italy; but whether in the north or the south we cannot unhappily decide; and yet it is rather important that we should. If these things were found in the north, they must have been tolerably spread over all Italy, for they are certainly found in the extreme south; and that they were found in the north is in so far probable, that something very like them has been found in Styria. But even Payne Knight, whom I suppose to have had dim visions of Atellan games and Ambarvalia, was drawn to the south and to Sicily; for he cites Diodorus (merely in the margin), who really is his authority for the notion that these things were not original—in spirit I mean—but affectations of archaism. What Diodorus says is this (lib. v. c. 4): ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα πανήγυριν ἄγουσιν (οἱ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν), ἐπώνυμον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης (i.e. Δήμητρος), τῇ τε λαμπρότητι τῆς παρασκευῆς μεγαλοπρεστάτην, καὶ τῇ διασκευῇ, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον: and so Mr. Payne Knight thinks his figures may have been connected with rites of Ceres or Bacchus.

And now what are we say to those various objects, or to what people shall we refer them? Are they Teutonic, as Lisch fancies, and has half persuaded Jacob Grimm to fancy? I cannot think so. They have not made their appearance on any one locality which can be exclusively and distinctly called Teutonic; for, after all, if the Slavish-Obotritic Mecklenburgh were to be admitted to that claim, it is only one set of waggon-wheels that can come under consideration, and these may have only an accidental bearing upon the other features of the case; while, on the other hand, waggons are found in the most ancient tomb of Italy, and the vase

attached to the Mecklenburgh find is much more Etruscan than German. Again I protest, *totis viribus*, against the doctrine of my friend Lisch, to whose energy and skill we owe a great deal, but who sees Germanic graves in all conical barrows which contain weapons of bronze. This I am perfectly certain is an error—an error, too, that a classical scholar ought never to have fallen into; and I repudiate, therefore, *in limine*, any argument that rests upon this most unsure foundation, this unhappy tendency to compliment a nook of Germany at the expense of European history; and with this I necessarily reject the explanation which Lisch and Grimm have given of the waggon and the birds, which sets out with the assumption that the implement found at Frankfort is a waggon, and that this, as well as the Peccatel find, is Germanic. That the “seven stars” are, on the one hand, properly referred to Woden’s Wain, Karl’s, or Charles’s Wain, is true, and that the same seven stars are here and there symbolized by the “hen and chickens,” is so also; but this helps us little. We have only four wheels at Peccatel, with a vase that is rather Italian than German; and we have two waggons with four wheels at Vulei. How many there were at Warin, or Frisack, or in the first set noticed at Frankfort on the Oder, we do not know; nor do we learn what more than wheels was found; nor do we know that the three wheels and the six birds found at Frankfort on the Oder have anything to do with a waggon at all. Again, the birds found at Vietgest and in the Hohenwalde were not reckoned by six or by seven, but by hundreds, and they were obviously ornaments for the dress, to be put on like buttons with shanks; so that here any reference to the six or seven stars of Woden’s Waggon is quite out of the question. Moreover, something nearly resembling these forms is found in Italy, and, upon the supposition of their being Teutonic, they must have been brought to Italy during some one of the Teutonic invasions of that country. But then we should expect to find the same things in the lands from which the invaders marched, which is not the case, and we should require to find a reasonable explanation of them in what we know of the feelings and religion of those who took them; but this explanation we cannot give. So that I can only conclude the Germanic populations have nothing to do with the matter.

Must we then attribute them to the Slavonians?

The argument from the *locus in quo* would no doubt, in this case, have a better foundation, inasmuch as Slavonians have undoubtedly at some period been settled in Mecklenburgh, in the Middle Mark, in Silesia, and in Styria. But it would not apply well to Vulei, to a Campanian tomb, or to the Basilicata by Naples; nor to France, supposing the so-called panther-collars to come from that country;

nor to Ireland, supposing the Irish hook with the birds to have anything to do with the matter. I am not very learned in the nature and attributes of the Slavonic gods, although I have no doubt some of them are car-borne, like some among the Teutons and the Latins. But it must be supposed, that when Dr. Robitsch claimed the Styrian waggon for a Slavonic goddess he made as good a case out as he could; and, as we must concur with Dr. Pratobevera in opinion that it is a very weak case indeed, the Slavonian hypothesis does not appear well founded, on this side. It may be noticed *en passant* that the spiral ornaments or volutes made by twisting fine wire, and forming brooches and the like, are very widely dispersed throughout lands which have been held by Slavonic populations; and that ornaments of a similar character, particularly the continued or double spiral, are often found upon implements of bronze, which it was intended to enrich with engraved work. This is not at all a prevalent mode of ornament in purely Teutonic art of an early date: on the other hand, it is very far from uncommon upon weapons and jewels which appear to belong to France, is by no means unexampled in Italy, and is even found in Thrace and Macedon; nay, spirals exactly resembling those of the North Germans and Slavonians, are a main element in the frieze of the so-called tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ. So that if, on the one hand, this form is supposed to furnish something of a presumption in favour of a Slavonic hypothesis, on the other it might be cited in support of a Gaulish or even a Greek one.

But, on other grounds, a Gaulish hypothesis must also be admitted. It is very clear that this would in fact explain the Italian, French, and Irish objects: it would also apply to Styria, inasmuch as the migrations of Gauls into the Styrian Alps are abundantly matter of history. But it would leave a difficulty in the Mecklenburg and Frankfort cases, which could not be readily overcome. Moreover, it would be required to show, that anything in Gaulish art resembled, or anything in the Gaulish religion had reference to, the forms of the objects described. Of this at present we know far too little to assert anything with certainty. It is true that, among the sculptured figures of Gaulish gods in Paris, there is one symbolised by an ox and three cranes, who is named *Tarvos Trigaranus*. The figure may be seen in Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 424, and in the third vol. of the Academie des Inscriptions, of the year 1717; and from Mr. Davies's *Mythology of the British Druids* (pp. 132, 161) it appears that *Tarw Trigaran* is Welsh for a bull with three cranes, as indeed it is very nearly Greek for it. All this may possibly be true; but still I am afraid it will not be enough to explain our cows or oxen yoked in a plough, not with three cranes, on their backs, but with ten or

twenty birds, more like ducks or geese, standing about them. Unless, indeed, upon those sane and singularly reliable principles of Helio-arkite interpretation, by which everything can be shown to be nothing, and nothing to be anything else, the yoke of oxen should symbolise Noah as a husbandman, and other figures therewith connected some other prominent details of his somewhat remarkable history. No doubt a capital Helio-arkite demonstration has been made upon weaker grounds before now.

But it is just possible, after all, that Mr. Payne Knight was right; that the whole affair may be early Italian, and connected in some way with the, to us unknown, ceremonies of the agricultural gods: in which case the resemblance between his bronzes and some of the other objects heretofore mentioned may be merely fortuitous. But all is not, and cannot be so. There is an undeniable resemblance between the strange figures upon the Styrian waggon, and those of Mr. Payne Knight's, Sir William Hamilton's, Baron v. Koller's, and Borgia's bronzes, which is beyond mere accident. The whole of them bear also some likeness to early Etruscan forms, as well as to a number of nondescript figures which have been discovered in various parts of Italy. Among these may be noticed one given by Caylus, vol. i.; the Punic idols in Sardinia, described by Della Marmora, in the *Bulletino del Inst.* p. 68, a. 1834; the human figures with snake-like arms and legs, noticed by Bonghi, *Bullet.* 1830, p. 11: with all which may be compared what Gerhard says in his *Etrusk. Spiegel.* Tables XII. XIII. And I would also refer to the handles of a large bronze vessel in the British Museum which is certainly from Italy, and seems to me to be of Etruscan origin. The upper part of these is formed by what resembles a rude human figure, placed upon the same sort of shape as the figures in Payne Knight's and Koller's bronzes with two heads, which are, perhaps, those of dragons. Possibly these may be considered to have some bearing upon this subject (*vide* Plate XXVII. fig. 10). Nor is it without importance that Etruscans, when pressed by the Gauls, migrated into the Rhaetian Alps,^a from which such implements, if Etruscan, might easily find their way into Styria, and where other objects have been found, bearing evidence of Etruscan origin, as for instance the helmets with inscriptions said to be Etruscan, which were found not far from Radkersberg in the year 1812. (*Vide* Michali, *Mon. Med.* p. 331, *seq.*).

I do not know whether any of our own Archæologists who have bestowed particular attention upon Italian antiquities will be able to give a satisfactory

^a Livy, v. 33. Pliny, N. H. iii. 24. Justin. xx. 5.

account of the forms which I have now the honour to bring to their notice : and especially whether it will be possible to prove the connection of these with any archaic rites of the goddesses Panda and Anna Paremma, or the rural celebrations of the Ambarvalia, or other agricultural ceremonies. But, as I perceive that the whole question must be beset with difficulties, since such accomplished inquirers as Mr. Payne Knight was, and Dr. Gerhardt is, have been unable to give a satisfactory explanation of those parts of it which fell under their observation, it has occurred to me that it was desirable to call the attention of the Society of Antiquaries to it.

I am not without hope that, if these strange things were better known in Europe, some of the gentlemen at the head of the magnificent collections in Paris might be able to give us further light upon the subject, from discoveries either in their own country, or Italy. And it is much to be desired, that it should be brought to the notice of the accomplished Archæologists of the last-named land, who have better opportunities than any of us of judging whether there may not yet be many examples extant similar to those I have considered, but which, from the very rudeness of their execution, have hitherto appeared unworthy of being made known. At all events, this paper, while it professes not even to attempt their explanation, will serve to put upon record the existence in various parts of Europe of objects of very unusual forms, which all seem more or less to belong to one another ; but which, from being hitherto known only within narrow and unconnected circles of inquirers, have been deprived of that combined illustration which their interesting character deserves, and by which alone their secret has a chance of being read. The key to them all seems, however, to lie in the collections of the British Museum, and thus especially belongs to the competency of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of England.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since these remarks were written, a remarkable discovery has been made in the neighbourhood of Bologna, which fully confirms the impression that the Payne Knight, Townley, and Koller bronzes are of Etruscan origin. (Vide *Relazione d'un Sepulcreto Etrusco, scoperto presso Bologna, by Conte Gozzadini, &c.*)

XXXIII. *Observations on a Picture in Gloucester Cathedral, and some other Representations, of the Last Judgment.* By G. SCHARF, Esq., Junior, F.S.A.

Read June 21, 1855.

ANTIQUARIES who have visited the Cathedral of Gloucester, or studied the elaborate work on that building published by our Society with the assistance of Mr. Carter, are aware of the existence of a very curious Picture deposited in the south triforium of the choir, representing the Last Judgment. (Plate XXVIII.)

For the general observer, indeed, it can have little attraction, and would fail to produce any impression, as its condition is so worn and crumbling that the chief subject of the picture is scarcely intelligible at first sight. Many parts have peeled off, and the rest is fast detaching itself from the ground, so that the prospect of destruction becomes my best excuse for occupying your attention this evening, in the hope of securing some lasting record of a curious work, whilst yet within our reach. The uninitiated visitor is first attracted to the picture by various large and staring labels with black and red characters, evidently of a late period, subsequent to the introduction of printing, in which are the well-known sentences in English, and clearly legible.

This curious monument was found about the year 1741, behind the old organ-screen, during the repairs carried on by Bishop Benson. This prelate, in accordance with the taste of his time, preferred to decorate his church with Grecian architecture instead of Gothic, and therefore devised something to contrast as much as possible with the rest of the edifice—a few of the monuments excepted.

The picture in question was at once removed to the south triforium, and has ever since remained there.

It is recorded that one of the minor canons, named Parsons Bishop, gave it a coat of varnish, but that is the only time anything seems to have been done to it; and I believe it to be one of the very few instances known of escape from retouching, beautifying, and outlining after discovery.

At this juncture it may be better to quote the notice of the picture in two or three of the more important works relating to the Cathedral, and first from the great work published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1809, entitled “Some



W. Jones sculp. 1854

FROM A LARGE PICTURE, IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL, REPRESENTING THE LAST JUDGMENT.

Before man, life and death. Ceteris
 In all, thy works remember thy last,
 and never wilt thou offend Ceteris

George, Chart, 1854, 1854, 1854

Account of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester, illustrative of the plans, elevations, and sections of that building."

On page 12, at the conclusion of the letter-press, we read, "There remains in the south gallery of the choir a large and sumptuous picture of the Last Day, in a high state of preservation, and painted in the style of the fifteenth century. It is supposed this picture once made a part of the decorations of the high altar, as its dimensions agree with the original altar-screen now remaining behind the modern one set up in the seventeenth century."

Mr. Britton, page 62, of his *Gloucester Cathedral*, says, "Mr. Counsel, of Gloucester, in a letter to Mr. Fosbroke, states that it was executed 'by an Italian in England, from a label being in the Italian language. It is painted on a golden or yellow ground, is in two separate parts, or folding doors, joined in the middle (about 10 feet by 7). That part of the picture which represents the New Jerusalem has Grecian columns, supporting circular arches, and surmounted with perforated battlements; some of the angels are represented singing from a score, and others are playing from different instruments, particularly viols and lutes.'

"This picture, like many of the designs in the Dutch, Flemish, and French missals of the beginning of the sixteenth century, represents the Day of Judgment, where the spirits of the blessed and of the cursed are doomed to enter their final abodes of bliss or misery. The Deity presides; St. Peter is placed with his keys, and groups of angels are painted to indicate the heavens, whilst monstrous forms, with a beastly mouth, flames, &c. are intended to typify hell."

There is also the following notice of it in Rudge's *History and Antiquities of Gloucester*, 8vo., p. 296 :

"In the first gallery is a curious painting of the Last Judgment, which was discovered some years ago behind the wainscoting in the nave at the time the seats were removed. It is generally supposed to have been an altar-piece, and concealed at the time of the Reformation; but the building wherein the blessed are represented as standing, and which seems to represent the New Jerusalem, is of Grecian architecture, and therefore of more modern date. I should rather assign it to one of those periods, either when Popery regained a short-lived triumph on the death of Edward VI., or on the complete establishment of Protestantism in the reign of Elizabeth. The victorious party in either case, but most likely in the former, might express their zeal by this fanciful representation of their opponents being consigned to the punishment they were supposed to merit. It is said that two paintings were done in Abbot Wigmore's

^a Britton, p. 63.

time,—one for the Abbot's chapel, the other for the high altar, which Fosbrooke supposes to be this; in his time, however, the pointed arch only was used, and such might have been expected to be the style of the painting."

Before commenting upon the above descriptions, I will offer a few observations of my own, made on the spot, towards the close of last year.

The picture of the Last Judgment is one of the most important specimens of English painting I remember to have seen. The old fifteenth century framing—such as appears in the famous Coventry tapestry—has been altered into a barbarous classic style of the time of Queen Mary, by the substitution of a gilt Corinthian pilaster capital, without a shaft, in lieu of some graceful corbel or pendant ornament. Consoles and cornice in renaissance style extend along the upper part. The entire height of the whole work is 7 feet 6½ inches.

The Saviour appears in the centre above, seated upon a rainbow, with the world between His feet, represented literally as the *mound and cross*. He is clothed in a red mantle, with a wide gold jewelled border, arranged in broad folds. A gold nimbus, as a circular plate with curious pattern on it, appears in perspective over His head. There is no division of the picture, as mentioned in the description from Britton. A central break or joining of the two doors, just where the Judge of Mankind is seated, would be impossible; it is now accidentally separated in several places, as indicated in the drawing, one division coming just at the right of the Saviour's head.

The picture is painted on plank oak, on a white plaster ground. There are no signs of linen upon the joints. The colours appear to have been tempera or distemper; certainly not oil. The back-ground is in some parts flat gold, and in others blue sky; the latter extending between the figures upon earth and the chief central figures of the Saviour and Apostles. The space round the angels with the instruments of the Passion, and above the two great upper labels, is also deep blue. Other portions are occupied with pale white and grey clouds; but around the Saviour, and all within the arches of Paradise, is a surface of plain gold. Red flames fill the right hand side of the picture.

The arrangement of the composition is in perfect accordance with the traditional mode of representation, with the exception of a few minor points of detail, hereafter to be mentioned. The left-hand side of the picture is occupied with the gate of Paradise, guarded by St. Peter, who is admitting the crowd of blessed souls that stood on the right hand of the Saviour. The lower central part contains the dead rising from their graves, and guided by angels in the direction they are to pursue. Devils contend for some of the newly-raised bodies,

and are also seen bearing several off towards the gate of Hell, which fills the right-hand side of the picture. Numerous winged heads of cherubim are dispersed through the air; many of them have the hair trimmed and cut square, as seen in the courtly figures of the time of Edward IV. and the two succeeding reigns.

The picture is altogether remarkable for a breadth of shadow far beyond what is usually seen in works of this class.

The Apostles, who have no distinctive emblems, are the worst part of the whole painting. Their features are large and coarse, with little or no expression; one head only, amongst them, is in direct profile. One Apostle has a large cloven white beard, like the figures of St. John and St. Jerome by Angelico da Fiesole in the chapel of St. Lorenzo in the Vatican.*

The angels are far better in drawing and expression; their naked feet also are remarkably well drawn. No angel has a nimbus, that distinction is confined to the Saviour and Apostles. The devils are monstrous, with hoggish heads, so frequently seen in the early German engravings. Their breasts and bellies are converted into faces, as in the works of Orcagna and Spinello Aretino.

A disagreeable black outline pervades this picture, as in all the English church paintings I have seen, but in the angels' heads this is somewhat mitigated; some of their hands, also, as they play on musical instruments, are really graceful.

The hands of the Apostles, on the contrary, are clumsy; their fingers are, for the most part, devoid of flexion. Some of the angels are clad in gold, shaded with burnt siena, and with the folds outlined strongly in black. Others wear full robes, with loose sleeves, of a pink colour shaded with madder. The females at the windows of Paradise have light yellowish hair, shaded brown. The general tone of the broad shadow upon the pale flesh is purple, so as to produce an Etty-like character. The mouths are generally open, and the lower lips large and peculiarly red. The eyes, also, are full and dark, with boldly marked upper lid. The shadow down the side of the nose and under the nostrils in general strongly pronounced, but I did not observe one instance in which the nostrils themselves were clearly defined. The head of the Saviour is very carefully modelled; it exhibits decided German characteristics, and closely resembles the paintings of the same subject by Hemling. The Apostles are similar to those in the Coventry tapestry before alluded to. But, whilst drawing these comparisons, I must observe that the peculiarities in the picture we are describing are often exaggerations of the qualities observable in the great works just referred to, and only mentioned here to give some notion of the general effect and relations to style, as

* Pistolesi, *Il Vaticano*, vol. iv., tav. LXXXII. and LXXXV.

without some well known instances to associate in the memory a great part of the distinctive qualities would fade in recollection.

The whole picture is a coarse epitome of the famous altar-piece at Dantzic.*

Perhaps one of the best parts is the angel with the column and instruments of flagellation. The colour is broad and rich, and "tells" excellently upon a deep blue sky ground. The corresponding angel with the cross and crown of thorns, is almost as good.

It is remarkable that in this picture we find no indication of the Virgin Mary, nor of St. John the Baptist, who are usually seated on either hand of the Saviour. Moses, the Prophets, and Patriarchs, also, are wanting.

The only dramatic incident observable in the central compartment is where one of the Apostles points appealingly to the torments of the wicked, and tries to direct the attention of the Judge to their sufferings.

The action of the Saviour is weak and poor; the raised right arm and depressed left one correspond exactly to the Dantzic picture. His drapery, though now much effaced, can never have been arrayed with judgment or experience; a few of the Apostles, however, display vigorous folds where the garments have been gathered up, but the greater part of the mantles fall as insipidly as some of Angelico's trailing draperies. The angels, notwithstanding, have better folds, some of them large and full, in the Edward IV. style, and corresponding with Italian works of the period. The wings of the angels are gold, with scales marked in black lines upon them. The insides of the wings vary in colour, from rich deep brown to blue and white, and blue and red. Only the angels on earth have the deltiform tiara, surmounted with a cross. The hair of angels holding instruments of the Passion is painted with a pale burnt sienna ground, shaded sepia, with sharp lights in lines of Naples yellow. The gold fibula on neck is ornamented with an excellently drawn pattern in black outline.

There is a great variety of attitudes in the figures rising from the graves; all appear bewildered, but there is an utter absence of sentiment—no marked differences in their former course of life, no distinction of rank, age, or temperament. We look in vain for the particular punishment for particular crimes. The hoarding abbot, or treacherous black-gowned priest, observable even in the works of Fra Angelico, do not make their appearance. A Teutonic grotesqueness of monsters pervades a great portion of the lower half of the picture. An animated group of a devil, who has already secured two female victims, one of whom, under his arm, struggles to get free, and the other folding her hands uselessly in prayer,

* See p. 386.

is seen prominently in the foreground. This demon, thus laden, is running after two fugitives, having caught one by the flying hair. The limbs of these figures are remarkably free, and some of the naked feet are very fairly drawn. The ornaments and jewels on the crosses carried by the angels are rich and well drawn, and the profuse employment of gold justifies the expression previously quoted of "sumptuous" to this picture.

As regards the architecture containing Grecian pillars or anything classic in its style, a glance at the drawing which I take the opportunity to exhibit will show that, although the building in question contains a very great variety of styles, nothing appears which can claim that designation.

Another observation refers the execution to an Italian in England, because one of the labels was found to be in the Italian language^a; now, all the writing is still particularly clear, and I confess myself utterly at a loss to perceive even a word that could be considered as exclusively Italian. The sentences are in plain English, curiously spelt; and it is somewhat singular to find them not in Latin, if of the fifteenth century.

Some persons have expressed an opinion that this altarpiece was executed as late as the reign of James II.; but this I fancy very improbable, as the taste for art, even for Roman Catholic purposes, was at that time totally different: the costume and style of hair would have indicated the period, nor was there then any taste for reproducing the works of a by-gone age. From the free treatment of the subject, and omission of the Virgin Mary, as well as absence of the gigantic Lucifer, it appears to belong to the earlier Protestant times, when the ancient pictorial traditions were in all other respects implicitly followed. In that case the picture might probably be referred to the conclusion of the reign of Henry VIII., or that of his son Edward VI. The writing would, however, contribute best to our knowledge on this head, and I would invite the attention of those versed in Palæography towards an explanation. The drawing exhibited is the result of repeated studies made in the cathedral, and I have scrupulously avoided introducing a single point which may not actually be traced in the original. The whole picture, as I mentioned in the commencement of this paper, is very indistinct, but to those who are acquainted with similar representations the various details soon reveal themselves. Parts, however, are irrecoverably gone, and that, unfortunately, in a very interesting portion, namely, the crowd of blessed below the gate of Paradise and the angels sounding the last trump. There is a singular group seen through the bars of one of the towers of the

^a Ante, p. 371.

portal of hell, remarkable on account of its connection with the surrounding subjects: a woman appears surrounded by devils, who torment her; but the earnest piety of her countenance and folded hands show her clearly to be superior to their machinations, and almost to claim a rescue. Condemned souls are seen at the bars of other windows, and a singular figure of a demon appears seated on the brow of the yawning monster whose extended mouth presents the jaws of hell. The demon holds a curious lantern, with a large candle in it, by way of a beacon.

Whilst attention is turned to this subject, it may be as well to glance at the principal examples in which the Last Day has been represented, although we must admit that, in general arrangement, few subjects from the sacred writings have been so uniformly represented. Even when represented in sculpture the same prescribed disposition of the figures is closely observed. But on collecting examples, it appears that no scenic representation combining the Resurrection and Judgment belongs to an earlier date than the year 1000.

It appears that the first millennium was looked forward to as the appointed end of the world; and, consequently, as the period approached, few works were undertaken that had reference to a further date. When, however, the year 1000 had passed, a contrary effect was produced on the minds of the people, and great doubts were entertained upon the Resurrection of the dead. The priests, therefore, not only treated of the Final Judgment in their sermons, but employed it on every occasion in painting and sculpture, and many remains still attest this fact during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.^a St. Methodus is said to have converted the King of the Bulgarians to Christianity by allusion to this subject. Bogaris desired him to paint on a certain wall at Nicopolis the most terrible picture he could imagine: he accordingly represented the torments of the condemned.^b

In Anglo-Saxon times it was usual to illuminate the Psalters with representations of the punishment of the wicked and God enthroned in heaven, but I do not remember an instance of the Resurrection being combined with either.

The sixth verse of the 1st Psalm:—

Therefore the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the Judgment, &c.

And Psalm ix. :—

Verse 7. But the Lord shall endure for ever; he hath also prepared his seat for judgment.

Verse 8. For He shall judge the world in righteousness; and minister true judgment unto the people.

^a De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 145, *note*.

^b Curzon's *Monasteries*, p. 364. Kugler, p. 84.

Verse 17. The wicked shall be turned into hell; and all the people that forget God.

These and many other passages are copiously illustrated in the Anglo-Saxon MS. Psalters. One of the finest among them is in the British Museum, marked Harleian, 603: its date is about 999. A fine repetition, about a century later, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Fall of Lucifer and the Rebel Angels has always been a favorite pictorial subject from the earliest times. It occurs in the Bodleian Cædmon at Oxford (see *Archæologia*, Vol. XXIV. Plates 55, 62, 63, and 69), and in the Ælfrie Paraphrase, Brit. Mus., Claudius, B. iv. p. 2. When they occur separately, it is not always easy to distinguish these subjects from groups belonging to the Last Judgment. A figure of Christ, as Judge, seated in a vesica, holding a horn in one hand and cross in the other, with the world at his feet, occurs in an Anglo-Saxon MS. in Brit. Mus., marked Tiberius, C. vi. about the year 1000. Below the figure of Christ St. Michael clothed in long garments stands with outstretched wings holding a maniple, the two ends of which are supported by a priest on each side. The priests are clothed in purple vests and green chasuble. The entire ground is of a buff colour. An angel, blowing a long trumpet, stands on each side of the Saviour. The left hand of Christ, holding the cross, rests also upon the open Book of Life, which is supported by his knee. (Plate V. fig. 3.)

A group of the saints and martyrs, with palm-branches, about to enter the gate of heaven, occurs in the celebrated Hyde Abbey Register, at the back of the frontispiece, containing the portraits of Canute and his Queen. On the opposite page is St. Peter, with angels opening the gates of Paradise; below, a contention between devils and angels for the souls of the departed.* The date of this MS. is about 1030.

A very striking representation of the Judgment occurs in the porch of the Cathedral of Autun, about 1031. Christ sits in the centre, and at his feet the dead rise from their graves; a balance held by a hand from the clouds is being employed for the weighing good against evil, and demons are seen actively employed in securing and tormenting their prey.^b Around the head of Christ is inscribed QVOS SCILVS EXERCET ME JVDICE PENA COERCET.

Here, therefore, we find the subject considerably developed.

In our own country one of the earliest examples extant is on the frieze of

* Engraved in Strutt, pl. xxviii. See also Dibdin's *Decameron*, vol. i. p. lvii.

^b Devoucoux. Du Sommerard, *Album*, Série iii. pl. 11. De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 145.

the west front of Lincoln Cathedral, commenced by Bishop Remigius in the year 1067. It is very probable that these sculptures had been taken from some other building, and date considerably earlier. The compartment with demons tormented by serpents has much grandeur and fulness of composition. Other parts contain the large head and monstrous jaws, with Christ's descent to Hades. (Plate XXXI. fig. 4.)

The west porch of Rochester Cathedral shows the Saviour seated as Judge, holding the Book of Life open, inscribed with the Alpha and Omega. The frame or aureole which incloses his figure is supported by the four signs of the Evangelists. The Twelve Apostles are seated beneath, carved on the lintel of the door. The west front of Rochester Cathedral was begun by Bishop Gundulphus, 1103.

1104.—At the east end of the cover of St. Cuthbert's coffin at Durham was painted the picture of our Saviour, sitting on the Rainbow to give judgment.^a

The Last Judgment occupies the centre of the great Irish cross of Monasterboice, county Louth: no exact date can be assigned to it; but it probably belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century. Christ appears holding the cross and sceptre; the Holy Spirit, in form of a dove, is placed over his head; angels, playing on musical instruments, are around; the blessed occupy his right hand, and, at the opposite side, the Demon, armed with a trident and aided by fiends, is driving away the condemned.^b

One of the most important pictorial series of this subject is to be found in a folio MS. preserved in the British Museum, marked Nero, C. iv. It belongs to the reign of Henry I.: date 1125.^c (Plate XXIX.)

After a series of pictures from the Bible and Life of Christ, terminating in the death and glorification of the Virgin Mary, a representation of the Resurrection occurs, occupying the full size of the page. This is the first of a series of large pictures, of various compartments, of a Last Judgment altar-piece.

I will take them in the order as they occur, the first page of the Resurrection being numbered 31. The height of the page is 1 foot $\frac{1}{4}$ inch by $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Five rows of the dead rising from the tombs, with an angel at each corner blowing a trumpet. The background is blue; the coffin-lids varied in design; the attitudes of the figures angular, but energetic. The subject is inclosed in a broad border, decorated with ivy leaves. At the top of the page is inscribed in old French—

^a Raine's Durham Cathedral, p. 53.

^b See Crystal Palace, Sydenham: Waring's Byzantine Court Catalogue, p. 112.

^c MS. Book No. 34, p. 136. Waagen, Art Treasures in England, vol. i. p. 149.

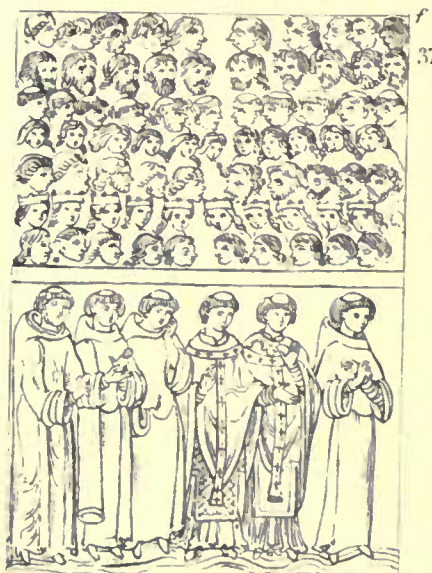
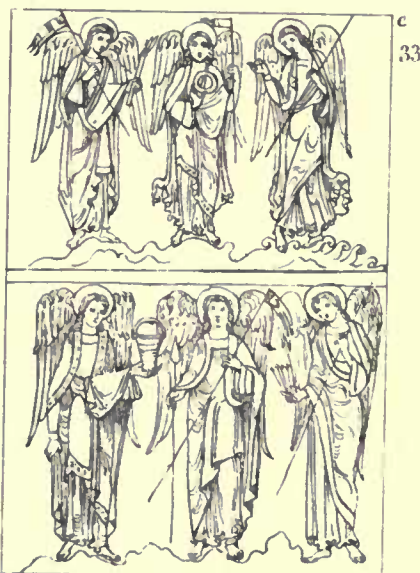
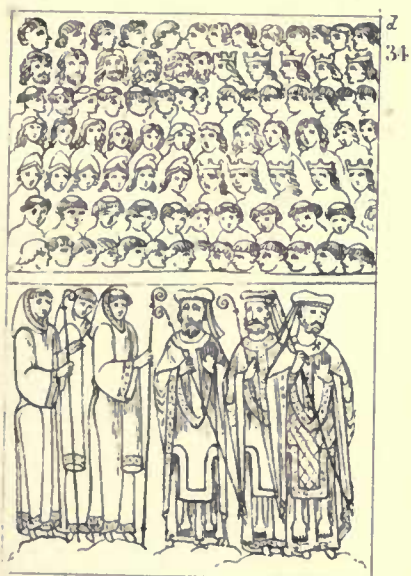


FIG. 1 From a Map of the World
belonging to Hereford Cathedral
page 381



FIG. 2 The Last Judgment and Inferno painted by Andrea and Bernardo Oragna in the Campo Santo at Pisa 1383



FIG. 5 From an Etching by David Hofer in the British Museum page 389



FIG. 4 Queen Mary's Psalter page 386



FIG. 4 Queen Mary's Psalter page 386

ICI EST LA RESVRRECTION CVMVNE AL IOR DE IVISSE :

On the next page, numbered 32, is inscribed —

ICI SIENT LI APOSTLE PVR IVIER :

Within a square ornamented border are six Apostles, curiously arranged in angular compartments, as if upon the groining of a ceiling. The six compartments are formed, first, by dividing the square space by a horizontal line into two equal portions, an upper and lower, and then by two diagonal lines connecting the four angles so as to leave two larger spaces in the centre. The upper central compartment is occupied by St. Peter, baldheaded, seated with the key and book : the lower by St. John the Evangelist, holding a book and roll. The four side figures are placed in good attitudes, probably derived from the inspired action of the prophets on the old mosaics of tribune arches of the early churches.

The next page, No. 33, inscribed ICI SVNT LI ANGLE, consists of two rows of standing angels, holding the instruments of the Passion. They are grand majestic figures, resembling the angels by Cimabue at Assisi, engraved in Ottley's Florentine School, Pl. X.

The next page, 34, has the legend, ICIST SERVNT A LA DESTRE DEU AL IVISE.

It is a most curious compartment, containing within a square frame seven rows of heads arranged horizontally over six standing figures of monks and bishops.

These heads represent the crowd of the blessed on the right hand of God. The upper and lower rows are completely in profile, one-half of the line being turned to the other in the centre.

The heads in the left half of the second rows are turned three-quarters wise. Rows four, five, and six are all three-quarters, or nearly full face ; the seventh row entirely in profile.

Page 35 contains the Saviour as Judge. He appears seated within an aureole, supported by two angels. On the border above is written —

ICI A PAREIST D^S E PVEM EN SA MAIESTE ET MVSTRE LA PLAIE DE SVN LEZ: *

Beneath the Saviour is a gold band, inscribed —

ICI MONTRENT LIANGEL LA CRVSZ.....NOSTRE SEIGNEVR:

Two angels appear below, holding a large green cross, on the top of which rests

* MS. Book, No. 34, p. 122.

the Book of Life. The action and figures of the angels are remarkably fine. A white altar or covered seat is placed beneath and behind the cross.

Page 36, inscribed—

ICI SIENT LI AVTRE APOSTLE PVR IVGIER:

the remaining six Apostles within similar compartments to page 32. The cross-bars, now white, were probably gilded; but a central ornament of leaves, forming a boss, occurs here, and not on page 32.

Page 37, inscribed—

ICI SERVNT A LA SENESTRE DA M LE DEV AL IVISE:

six standing figures of monks and priests beneath rows of heads, as on page 34. The heads here are larger, ten in a row, one-half facing the other in the centre. First, third, fifth, and seventh rows in profile: row six, all queens with gold crowns. These heads display a wonderful variety of expression and character. Women, children, countesses, and tonsured monks, each with a peculiar physiognomy, are carefully drawn and studied.

Page 38 displays the torments of hell, arranged in two divisions, one over the other. The legend is—

ICI ENMEINENT LI DIABLE LES DAMNEZ EN ENFERN.

In the upper compartment, a devil with a woman on his back affords the prototype to the well-known groups of Signorelli and Michael Angelo.

Below is a cauldron, containing the heads of a queen, monk, and two others, which are stirred by a devil. A man chained to a post is having his hands chopped off: one demon holds a knife, and another is ready to strike upon it with a hammer,—the latter figure has wings at his heels like Mercury or some of the Etruscan divinities. The look of the sufferer, as turned appealingly to the spectator, is really excellent. The figures are all drawn with remarkable precision. The background is blue.

The next page, 39, displays the usual monster head and jaws of Hell. The angel is seen with a key locking the gate; numerous green figures of the condemned appear in the centre upon a deep black ground. Devils torment them. The suspended figure is the prototype of one of the incidents in Orcagna's *Inferno* in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

The legend to the concluding page of this series is

ICI EST ENFERS E LI ANGELS KI ENFERME LES PORTES:

I have dwelt thus long upon this particular MS. as it contains the germ of most of the incidents employed at a later period. The style of art has a remarkable affinity to the early sculptures of Chichester and Rochester cathedrals.

The west porch of the cathedral of S. Trophime at Arles is adorned with singular sculptures pertaining to the Last Judgment: Two square compartments of the raising a good spirit and punishment by demons are fully deserving of attention. The date is about 1190.

A map of the world, attributable to the thirteenth century, belonging to Hereford cathedral, contains also in the upper part a Last Judgment. (Plate XXX. fig. 1.)

In the duomo of Torcello, one of the Venetian islands, is a large mosaic of the Last Judgment, with figures in Byzantine costume. The date probably about 1200.^a

The porch of San Michele at Pavia is adorned with sculpture displaying the joys of Heaven on one side and the punishment of the wicked on the other.^b

The year 1242 witnessed the completion of one of the most important series of sculptures pertaining to this subject to be found in any country, namely, the great west front of Wells cathedral. The entire length of this front above and around the great window archings is occupied with a band or series of figures rising from their graves. The attitudes and groupings are wonderfully varied, and display an excellence of execution, which, however, passed entirely unnoticed till the illustrious Flaxman mentioned them in his lectures on sculpture. (Plate XXXI. fig. 7.)

It is to be regretted that a carefully studied series of drawings has not been taken of them, for the sake of the sculpture only. They have from their elevated position escaped the injury inflicted on most of the lower figures, and fortunately do not require the meddling hand of the restorer. These sculptures are so fine that they will fully bear comparison with the works of Niccolo Pisano, who was alive at this time. He was born about the year 1200, and, consequently, 42 when these sculptures were finished. In the year 1250 (the 34th of Henry III.), Edward de Westminster was ordered to paint a Last Judgment at the west end of St. Stephen's Chapel.^c

^a Lord Lindsay's *Christian Art*, vol. ii. p. 57. Murray's *Handbook to North Italy*, p. 373.

^b Gally Knight's *Churches of Italy*, series 1, pl. 14.

^c Eastlake's *Materials*, p. 560. A very interesting example is given of this subject in sculpture, over a door, of the thirteenth century, by De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 273. The Saviour has a castle, symbolical of the inhabited world, for a foot-stool. The angels holding the Instruments of the Passion, to judge from the engraving, are especially grand. Unfortunately the author does not name the place where the original is to be seen.

The beautiful south porch of Lincoln cathedral affords one of the most refined representations of the Last Judgment. The figures have unfortunately suffered very seriously, and the exquisite workmanship of the framing around has in some measure detracted from the attention really due to them. Flaxman's lectures contain a sketch that he made of the composition; plate 39.^a The date of this porch is probably 1280. The figures contrast wonderfully with the Byzantine severity of the works already described.^b (Plate XXXI. fig. 1.)

The grand mosaics of the baptistery at Florence, designed by Andrea Tafi, who died 1294, exhibit a striking analogy with the compartment series just described in the British Museum. A general idea of their arrangement and composition may be gathered from plate xix. in the first volume of Gally Knight's *Churches of Italy*. They are fully described by Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 57.^c

In the slope of the roof, above the high altar, is a gigantic figure of Christ sitting, inclosed within a ring. His extremities are large, the feet especially enormous and clumsy, the toes out of all proportion. Just beneath is a row of sarcophagi opening, and men stepping forth from them. On the left of the spectators they are received by angels, on the other side devils are actively engaged. Next to this is the Inferno, treated in the usual manner, with a huge green monster in the centre devouring victims. On the other side are crowds of the blessed and saints and patriarchs enthroned. The figures on the rest of the dome are arranged in four rows of historical subjects; three large compartments are above this again, consisting of arabesques and immense angels and cherubim. The lowest line of all seems devoted to the life and death of St. John the Baptist.^d

The interior walls of the porches of the Greek monasteries are covered with paintings of saints, and the Last Judgment occupies the porch of every church. These pictures are often of immense size, with the figures according to the usual arrangement, the blessed having stout gold glories; and St. Michael weighing the souls is rarely omitted.^e

^a See Wild's *Lincoln Cathedral*, plates 12 and 14. Mr. Cockerell speaks in the Appendix to his *Iconography of Wells Cathedral*, p. 91, of this sculpture as inferior to the angel figures in the choir. In this opinion I cannot concur with the learned Professor. Unfortunately, being outside the building, and easily within reach, they have been much damaged, but their position seems to have entailed a greater degree of care and finish originally, whilst the angels in the choir were far removed from the eye, and display less minute study and refinement of surface.

^b Sketch-book, No. 27, p. 102.

^c MS. Travelling Note-book, p. 130.

^d MS. Travelling Note-book, p. 130.

^e Curzon, p. 362, *et seq.*

The prototype of St. Michael weighing the souls occurs in Pagan art, where Mercury holds the scales. Homer (*Iliad* viii. 69) describes the father of gods and men taking his golden scales to weigh the *fates* of the Greeks and the Trojans.

The Last Judgment is depicted on the walls of the church at Toscanella, and figured in Gally Knight (vol. i. plate xii.): compare also Dennis's *Etruria* (vol. i. page 455).

The duomo of Orvieto, commenced in 1290, affords a parallel to the sculptures of Wells cathedral in the compartments of its façade representing the dead rising from their tombs. (Plate XXXI. fig. 5.) They were executed by Giovanni Pisano, and seem to be positively inferior in all respects to those of our own country.^a The Orvieto sculptures are engraved in D'Agincourt (*Sculpture*, plate xxxii.). Dante, at his greatest power in 1300, did not by his poetic inspirations contribute to any material change either in the form or arrangement of this mighty subject. His introduction of the "*Caron dimonio*,"^b it is true, led to the appearance of the infernal ferryman in Michael Angelo's great picture; but the huge form of Lucifer, and the various grades of punishment, had made their way probably from the East before the writings of Alighieri became known.^c

Soon after this date, in 1306, Giotto painted a Last Judgment on the entrance wall of the Arena Chapel at Padua. The Saviour appears in a *Vesica Piscis*, surrounded by angels, the apostles, and the elect. Below, to the left, the dead rise from their graves, and the entire right side is occupied by the Inferno. Beneath the Saviour the cross is supported in the air by two angels.^d

The most celebrated and fully developed picture of this subject belonging to the early Italian period is the fresco by Andrea Orcagna, in the Campo Santo at Pisa. (Plate XXX. fig. 2.) The composition is so well known that I will only refer to a tracing exhibited in the room. The right-hand portion, the Inferno, was altered or repainted at a subsequent period; but it may be seen in a very early print, attributed to Baldini, which I also lay before you.^e The date is not recorded, but Lord Lindsay assigns about 1329-30.^f

^a Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 121, *note*.

^b Dante, *Inferno*, Canto iii.

^c De Caumont, *Abécédaire*, p. 274, mentions especially the porches of Chartres, Bourges, Paris, La Couture au Mans, St. Seurin de Bordeaux, and Amiens, as displaying sculptures of the thirteenth century pertaining to the Last Judgment. The Tympanum over door of west front at Vezelay contains the same subject. Du Sommerard, *Album*, Série iii. fol. 22.

^d Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. pp. 180 and 195; and a drawing in possession of the Arundel Society.

^e Ottley, *History of Engraving*, vol. i. p. 373. The original plate has been used in the modern work by Morrona, *Pisa Illustrata*, vol. ii. tav. 10.

^f Lord Lindsay, vol. iii, p. 141, *note*.

Orcagna painted the same subject, together with a Paradise, in the Strozzi Chapel of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, in the year 1357. The chapel, like the transept of a cathedral, has only three sides. On the north, around the window, he painted the Judgment, representing the Saviour as a half-figure only, on account of the window interfering. Angels sound the trumpets; the Virgin, in pure white, kneels on the left side, apart from the prophets and saints, who are seated on clouds on each side a little below. The Resurrection is portrayed as usual. The right hand wall is occupied with the Inferno, labelled and divided more in accordance with the conception of Dante. It has been engraved by D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, plate cxix. Charon, Minos, the Centaurs, and various other Dantesque figures, are especially prominent.

On the opposite west wall of the chapel is painted the Paradise. Christ and the Virgin Mary appear seated side by side under a canopy at the top of the picture. The blessed are ranged in rows all up the sides; four angels playing musical instruments occupy the centre of the picture; and a crowd of blessed stand on clouds beneath.

Queen Mary's Psalter, in the British Museum, marked Royal 2 B. VII. belongs to the date 1320. It contains, on page 303 *b*, an impressive representation of the Judgment and Resurrection.^a (Plate XXX. fig. 4.) The composition is square; on a gold burnished ground, Christ with red nimbus, pale flesh, and white hair, appears seated on an arch, clothed in a pink garment lined with pale green; it is fastened on the breast with a round fibula. The feet are large and long: and the position of the legs is that which is commonly called "knock-kneed." An angel holding emblems of the Passion: viz., the cross, nails, spear, and crown of thorns, occupies each upper corner. A straight blue band or fillet beneath the feet of Christ separates the upper subject from another one of the Resurrection. The ground of this compartment is red, composed of a pink and white diaper. Two angels sound long trumpets; and white-clad figures are seen rising from the graves. One lifting up the white coffin-lid, marked with a bright red cross, is particularly good both in action and drawing.

Page 304 opposite, contains a square compartment of the same size divided in like manner. The upper part, to the left, contains the Gate of Heaven, guarded by St. Peter and an angel. To the right is the Saviour enthroned, with globe at his feet, and angels. The background to this half is burnished gold; whilst that of the other portion is red and pink diaper, like the Resurrection on the opposite page.

^a Waagen, p. 165. MS. Note-book, No. 34, p. 127.

Below is the Gate of Hell, with mouth of monster. The devils are wonderfully well drawn, and much more finished and modelled than usual. Sepia seems to be the colour chiefly employed. This subject, being darker, looks richer than any other in the book; a fat, shorn monk is being carried upon a devil's back. The back-ground is blue diaper, with white lines and bright red circles.^a

In 1407, Spinello Aretino commenced his famous picture of the Fall of Lucifer, well-known in connection with a curious story told by Vasari.^b

The great east window of Carlisle cathedral formerly presented a magnificent display of the Last Judgment; and many parts of the glass still remain, especially in the upper lights. The highest central compartment retains the figure of the seated Christ, surrounded by smaller angels. Two gravestones at his feet take the form of a cross. His mantle is dark blue, and the background a rich crimson diaper. Two compartments below contain—the one to the left, a standing group of the blessed; the one to the right, the heavenly Jerusalem. The smaller side-lights contain angels with trumpets. Many others are still filled with figures emerging from the sepulchres.^c (Plate XXXI. fig. 2.)

Mr. Rogers possesses a beautiful miniature of the fifteenth century by Jean Fouquet de Tours, representing the Eternal Father in a glory of flame, and the wicked tormented below.^d (Plate XXXII. fig. 4.)

Trinity church, Coventry, also contains a curious old brown wall-painting of the Doom. (Plate XXXII. fig. 1.) It extends over the arch, supporting the west side of the tower. There is remarkable energy in the attitudes of some of the figures. The Saviour is especially undignified, with very large feet. The world, as a white ball, with a red triangular belt round it, is placed between them. The square graves are very conspicuous down the side of the arch. The steps of Paradise are on the left; the condemned hurried off by devils fill the opposite side, with indications of the jaws of Hell at the angle. The Virgin Mary seems to have been entirely omitted, as in the Gloucester picture.

An ancient mural painting was discovered in 1847 in Portslade church, Sussex, on the south wall of the nave. The Virgin Mary, crowned, is seated on the right hand of the Judge. Christ sits alone within a pointed arch, probably part of a vesica; for the rest of the painting is much mutilated, and seems to have been a poor performance at the very outset. The space within the arch is rudely seméed

^a MS. Note-book, No. 34, p. 127.

^b Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. pp. 313 and 320. Vasari, Florentine edition, 1832-8, vol. i. p. 195. Bohn's translation, vol. i. p. 269.

^c Sketch-Book, No. 16, pp. 64 and 68.

^d Sketch-Book, No. 41, p. 121.

with fleurs de lis. The remains of this painting have been engraved in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. i. 1848, p. 161, and described by the Rev. Henry Hoper. The architecture is of the early-English period.

Another universally celebrated picture of this subject belongs to German art, and is the altar-piece of the cathedral of St. Mary at Dantzic, formerly attributed to John Van Eyck.^a (Plate XXXI. fig. 3.) It bears the date 1467, and is generally believed to be by Albert van Ouwater, the founder of the Holland school of art.^b It forms a large altar-piece with wings, of which the left inside is adorned with an elaborate gate of Paradise, with a flight of steps, at the foot of which St. Peter receives the blessed, who are there invested with heavenly garments by angels nearer the portal,—the porch of a cathedral of the period richly decorated with sculpture; the right wing is occupied with the infernal regions.^c This picture was removed to the Louvre gallery in 1811, and marked in the Catalogue No. 303. In many respects it closely resembles the Gloucester picture, with which our examination began. The lily and sword on either side of the head of the Saviour may be seen in both. St. Michael, however, is to be found in the Dantzic picture only, and there he is strikingly conspicuous. The Inferno does not contain any enormous figures, but numerous small ones, tossed about in flames, and among sharp rocks, by active fiends. Some monkish figures are very quaint. In this composition the Saviour rests his feet on a plain ball, so shiny as to reflect surrounding objects. The attitude of Christ is formal, and the figure is encumbered with drapery of too many folds, although well arranged upon the knees. He sits upon a rainbow, almost circular. The Virgin veiled, and St. John the Baptist, kneel on each side, whilst the Apostles are seated six on each side. Four angels hover in the air with instruments of the Passion, and four small angels are below sounding curved trumpets. The cross at the top of the staff borne by St. Michael is very similar in point of ornament to those carried by the angels in the Gloucester altar-piece.

An interesting old German picture at Beaune in Burgundy, generally attributed to Albert van Ouwater, is shown by Signor Cavalcaselle to be a fine work of

^a See Kugler's *Handbook of German Painting*, edited by Sir Edmund Head, p. 72. Waagen über Hubert und Johann van Eyck. Breslau, 1822, 8vo. p. 241.

^b The date of this curious picture is traceable in the centre-piece on a grave-stone to the left of the figure of St. Michael. A woman wringing her hands is seated upon it. The following letters are all that remain: "Anno Domini . . . CCCLXVII. IAR." At first the date was restored 1367, but Waagen has satisfactorily shown, by the space worn away at the commencement, that there must have been an additional C; moreover, the elder Van Eyck was only one year old in 1367. Waagen, *Van Eycks*, p. 248.

^c See also *Conversations-Lexicon für Bildende Kunst*. Leipzig, 1846, vol. ii. p. 542.



FIG 1 Sculpture from the South Porch of Lincoln Cathedral page 382.



page 385 and Appendix

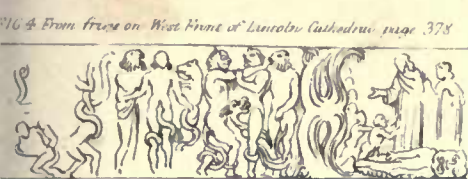


FIG 5 Sculpture from the Facade of the Duomo at Orvieto, page 383.



FIG 7 Sculptures from the West Front of Wells Cathedral, page 383.



FIG 3 From a Picture at Santiago dated 1463 supposed to be by A. Saverio page 386



FIG 1. Wall painting in the

Holy Trinity Church, Coventry
page 385.



FIG 5. Sculpture (Alto relief) in
Kington Church, page 387



Michael Angelo
FIG 2

FIG 3. Painted by
Angelico da Fiesole

Page 389
of the Duomo
of Orvieto

the Judgment
page 389



FIG 3. Anglo Saxon. MS page 377



FIG 4. Miniature by Jean Fouquet page 389



FIG 6. The Last Judgment painted by Hemskerke in Harston Court Palace page 388



FIG 7. St. Stephen's, Co. Wick page 389



Roggier Van der Wayden. It represents the Last Judgment, and, in many respects, resembles the Dantzic picture. St. Michael, in the centre, weighing the souls, is clothed in a long white dress reaching to the ground, and a mantle fastened with a circular clasp on the breast. The figures are altogether large, and few in comparison to the usual treatment of the subject. The entrance to Paradise displays some very graceful architecture of a purer Gothic than we generally meet with in this school.

The beautiful works of Fra Angelico da Fiesole 1407-54, contain several representations of the Last Judgment, two of which are in the Gallery of the Belle Arti at Florence; one in the Corsini Palace at Rome; another, a fresco, in the duomo at Orvieto; and a very fine specimen is now in the collection of Lord Ward, freely open to the public every day except Monday. (Plate XXX. fig. 3.)

The last-named picture is interesting, as having been copied in one of the earliest copper-plate engravings by Sandro Botticelli, an impression of which is in the British Museum; and I saw another for sale recently at Messrs. Evans, the printsellers, in the Strand.

The Christ in Judgment, painted by Fra Angelico at Orvieto, in 1447 (Plate XXXII. fig. 9), is said to have suggested to Michael Angelo the action of the Judge in his Sistine fresco a century later.

The same cathedral contains a series of important frescoes by Lucca Signorelli, who painted the history of Antichrist, and also a Last Judgment. His wonderful foreshortenings and bold attitudes prepared also for the vaster display of Michael Angelo. His fresco of the *Fulminati* is well known.

A rude representation of the same subject was discovered on the walls of Gawsworth church, in Cheshire, in 1851; and another quite recently in Rougham church, Suffolk, round the chancel arch.

In Kingston church, near Kegworth, is a very curious monument belonging to the Babington family. The east end of it is decorated with a sculpture representing the Last Judgment. (Plate XXXII. fig. 5.) The Saviour appears seated on a rainbow; a sword above projects from the right side of his nimbus; angels in the air support a scroll; the graves are open at the feet of the Saviour; the gate of heaven, and a crowd of the blessed, are to the left, and great monster's jaws and the condemned fill the right-hand corner. The Virgin is entirely omitted.

The Last Judgment forms one of the subjects of the painted glass in Fairford church, Gloucestershire, 1492.* It entirely occupies the west window.

* See Dallaway's *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, p. 436. Mr. Winston does not assign an earlier date than the first part of the 16th century. *Hints on Glass Painting*, vol. i. p. 114.

The subject recurs in a side chapel, north of the chancel, in St. Mary's church at Shrewsbury.

The great west window of Brussels cathedral is filled with a Last Judgment, dated 1528.^a The glass of this subject in the choir of Lichfield cathedral is dated 1551.

The celebrated fresco by Michael Angelo in the Sistine chapel, completed 1551, is too well known to require description here; suffice it to observe that even that great genius, with all his originality, not only followed the traditional arrangements handed down to him, but, in many cases, availed himself of the smaller inventions and devices of his predecessors. (Plate XXXII. fig. 2.) Michael Angelo had also prepared cartoons for a Fall of the Angels, to occupy the opposite end of the chapel.^b Hemskerk, Rubens, and Jean Cousin employed the subject rather as an excuse for the display of a series of studies from nature, and exhibiting their knowledge of human passions and weaknesses, than from any desire to influence the minds of the beholders towards spiritual improvement; other painters indulged in depicting the destruction of the world without attempting to go beyond the merest corporeality.

A Last Judgment by Hemskerk, in the Gallery at Hampton Court, No. 125, displays a studious departure from the established arrangement of the older artists. The picture is long in shape, with the figure of the Saviour seated on clouds in the right-hand extremity of the picture. Immediately beneath him, hell is represented as a gaping monster's head, with Cerberus, and a small demon holding a pitchfork, standing on front of lower jaw between the tusks. (Plate XXXII. fig. 8.) In the centre of the picture is a blaze of empty yellow light and a rainbow. To the left a large group of figures round a bed, on which a man lies expiring. At the foot of the bed are a pilgrim's staff, bottle, hat, and shoe. The central foreground is occupied with large naked figures, admirably drawn: a boat, with Charon and numerous souls, appears in the middle distance. A female figure of Fame, *not* an angel, is sounding a trumpet like a serpent. A second trumpeter, a male figure, appears close to the Saviour.^c

Bernard van Orley executed an important picture of the Last Judgment, which is now in St. Jacob's at Antwerp.

A modern example of the subject, in sculpture, may be seen in London, over the lich-gate of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields. It was set up on the gate of the old church 1687.^d (Plate XXXII. fig. 6.) The figures are very small in proportion

^a Winston's Hints on Glass Painting, vol. i. p. 179.

^b Vasari, Florentine edition, 1832-8, vol. iii. p. 995. Bohn's translation, vol. v. p. 281.

^c Waagen, Art Treasures, vol. ii. p. 358.

^d See Cunningham's Hand-book to London, edition 1850, p. 202.

to the semicircular lunette they occupy, and are in alto-relief. The Saviour stands in the clouds, surrounded by rays, holding the banner of redemption, and with his right hand pointing upwards. Angels playing musical instruments, and tumultuously expressing the joys of heaven, completely surround him. Neither the Virgin Mary nor apostles are to be seen in order. The prominent attitudes of the rising dead, and of the condemned, betray markedly the influence of Michael Angelo; they have been directly and ignorantly copied from his sublime Conception. This alto-relievo is very curious, and being both elaborate and well preserved deserves to be carefully drawn and published.

A curious square oak carving, about 5 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$, in alto-relief, is inserted over the gateway of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, in the city of London. (Plate XXXII. fig. 7.) From the two upper corners seems to hang a festoon of clouds, upon which, in the centre, the Saviour is seated in cumbrous drapery, holding the banner of Redemption in the right hand and the ball and cross in the left; the significant action of the Judge is therefore entirely lost. He has a large beard and rough hair, but no nimbus.

Immediately beneath the Saviour, in front of the clouds, Satan is falling. He is represented of a slim human form, with hideous face, horns, and bat's-wings: his feet are tied together. The entire space below is filled with the dead—all entirely naked—issuing from their coffins, which are shaped like those now in use. At each end some figures are seen issuing from caverns. The central figures below are large fat children; but otherwise there is no distinction of age or sex. One angel, to the left of the Saviour, sounds the trumpet.

There are no musical instruments, nor indications of entrance to the places of final award. The Book of Life also is not represented. The remaining space within the line of clouds is filled with winged angels, many of them exceedingly graceful, busied in assisting the aspirants to heaven by reaching their hands over the clouds. Many of the figures, in their excitement, seem ready to scale the walls of heaven; but the treatment of the whole is very unworthy of the subject. As a piece of carving it is remarkably good, and superior to that over the lich-gate of St. Giles's.

A remarkable representation of the Last Judgment occurs in a spirited etching, on a large scale, by David Hopfer. (Plate XXX. fig. 5.) A very fine impression may be seen in the British Museum. It is also mentioned by Bartsch, vol. viii. p. 476, No. 15. The Saviour appears in the centre surrounded by rays. He wears a high arched crown, holds a sceptre in the left hand, and raises the right in action of benediction towards the elect. A large mantle envelopes the shoulders and lower part of the figure with excellently disposed folds; a rainbow of a peculiarly stilted

form serves for a seat. The globe, as usual, is a footstool. The Virgin Mary, crowned, sits near the Saviour, but much lower down, so as to leave considerable space between them. St. John the Baptist is seated on the right hand, to correspond with the Virgin. These three figures, by violence of action, lose the architectural balance so well preserved by the older painters in their central group—an arrangement which afforded a powerful contrast between the solemn tranquillity and the fervid piety of the blessed, and the gestures of terror and despair among the condemned.

The Twelve Apostles are arranged in two rows, six in each row, beneath the supreme Judge. They are bold figures, in grand but violent attitudes. Two angels hover above with the instruments of the passion. Two other angels, one on each side of the Saviour, hold the lily and the sword. These latter emblems frequently occur in German representations of the Last Day, but never, so far as I have seen hitherto, supported by angels. The blessed ones stand in heaped up rows of clouds up the entire left side of the picture; the condemned, standing on flames, fill the right to a corresponding extent. Among the latter are Popes, Bishops, Monks, and Cardinals.

The crowd of blessed contains several soldiers. In the front of the left-hand crowd is a row of charming little naked children. Beneath the Apostles three angels hover in the air, each holding a trumpet; and one has a naked sword in addition. Beneath these again are angels bearing up the souls to heaven, represented as naked children, according to the early Italian and Byzantine fashion. The earth in the centre is filled with square holes, to indicate the empty graves, arranged with some attempt at perspective, which recalls the composition of Fra Angelico at Lord Ward's Gallery; but the effect of crowd, bustle, and animation on both sides can only be equalled by Orcagna's fresco in the Campo Santo at Pisa.

This rare print is marked D † H.

David Hopfer and his brothers worked, according to the dates on some of their productions, from 1520 to 1527. The country to which they belonged is not known. Another engraving by the same master, also in the British Museum, refers likewise to the Last Day; but it is rather an allegorical device than a direct representation, like those which have hitherto engaged our attention.

The woodcuts in the Nuremberg Chronicle, and Holbein's Dance of Death, relating to the Last Judgment, and the Fall of Lucifer in the Speculum Humanæ Salvationis, together with thousands of other illustrations, must be passed by undescribed. I have only presumed to mention those examples which came under my own immediate notice, and have endeavoured, in making the collection, to classify them chronologically, in the hope that others may be induced to con-

tribute their information under a similar system, and thus to obtain as many varieties in one kind as possible. Something similar has been done by Miss Louisa Twining, the author of "Christian Symbols," with reference to the various representations of the Crucifixion, a subject especially impressive, and capable of every variety of conception and treatment. It is to be hoped that the lady will ultimately publish the result of her valuable studies, so that others may derive the benefit of information which the leisure of an amateur, united with the refined taste of an artist, could alone afford.

For a *complete* view of these awful themes, both artistically and poetically, we must look forward to Mrs. Jameson's concluding volume of "Sacred and Legendary Art." The life of our Lord, with which the work will terminate, must necessarily bear reference to the Last Judgment; especially as one of what theologians call "the four last things: viz., Death, Judgment, Hell, and Paradise." For this the Latins use the term "Quatuor Novissima;" the Greeks, "Τὰ Εσχάτα."

I should be unwilling to conclude this paper without alluding to the conceptions of a great artist recently taken away from us, the only painter indeed who ever succeeded in giving an idea of infinite space.

John Martin delighted in subjects which carried the spectator beyond the bounds "of this dim spot which men call Earth," and bade him behold the scene as from afar off, as one might say, in mid air; such was the effect of his Deluge, Pandemonium, Crucifixion, and Day of Judgment. His style of treatment has been followed by some of the French artists, and with deserved success. The style may be termed melo-dramatic, but it is deeply impressive.

In the dramatic treatment none have approached the great Italians already enumerated. Cornelius, at the head of the modern German school, has produced an enormous fresco in the Ludwigskirche at Munich, which, with all its excellence, contains many faults; the merits being chiefly derived from his predecessors. Like his predecessors, he has immortalized his friends in heaven, and punished his enemies in hell. The wildness of his style, which rather partakes of Filippo Lippi in character, does not suit the tone of that awful moment.

One master alone, who united more requisites than any other for such a representation, dramatically and with every artistic excellence, has left the subject untouched. Raphael Sanzio d'Urbino is not known to have made any design, not even the slightest sketch, of the Last Judgment—one of the grandest, most comprehensive, and solemn subjects that the human mind is able to conceive.

G. S.

XXXIV. *On Episcopal and other Rings of Investiture.* By
OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq. M.P., F.S.A.

Read February 7, 1856.

THE Ring has for many ages formed part of the insignia of a Bishop ; there does not, however, appear to be any evidence either as to the period or the special reason of its first adoption. It seems from very early times to have had a two-fold purpose and signification, the one practical and useful, the other mystical and symbolic.

Many of the General Councils held during the first six centuries had reference to the episcopal office, and the canons decreed thereat had especial relation to the election, ordination, and duties of Bishops. In no one canon, however, is any mention made of the episcopal ring. In the Apostolical Constitutions regulating the discipline and practice of the early Church are found minute and particular directions for the election and ordination of Bishops. These constitutions are said to have been drawn up by the Apostles themselves ; by some, however, they are thought to have been compiled from the early precepts, practice, and customs of the Apostles by St. Clement, who died about the year 100. By others, again, they are believed, from internal evidence, to have been a collection of previous constitutions, rules and regulations, made in the fourth or fifth century. In speaking of a Bishop these regulations prescribe the sort of man who should be chosen for a Bishop, viz. that he must be a man of good morals, fifty years of age, and the husband of one wife, who must not have been a widow, and then give expressly the form of his consecration, which is as follows : After the election is made, the people on the Sunday assemble in the church, together with the priests and Bishops, of which there must be at least three present. He who presides in the assembly presents the newly-elected Bishop to the people, and asks if it is he whom they have chosen, and whether he is a fit and proper person ; and on the people answering in the affirmative, one

of the first Bishops standing before the altar shall, together with the other Bishops, make a prayer over the elect. During this time the deacons shall hold the Book of the Holy Gospels open upon the head of him whom they are ordaining, and the Bishops and priests shall pray in silence; when the prayer is ended, and the people have answered Amen, one of the Bishops is to place a hoste in the hands of the ordained, and the others conduct him to the throne prepared for him. He then receives the holy kiss from all the Bishops, and after the reading the lessons from the prophets and the Gospels he pronounces a blessing on the people.

These directions are very minute, and there is in them no mention whatever of a ring, or staff, or any form of investiture. But these constitutions, and all the canons of the early councils which allude to the subject, are very express about the Bishop being elected by the people and clergy, with the consent of the Metropolitan, which term first occurs in them, and that at least three Bishops shall be present at his consecration.

I must leave to others to determine the date of these Apostolical Constitutions, which, if of the fifth century, will serve to show that the ring could not have been adopted as a symbol of the episcopal office till after that time; at all events, it seems clear that the ring is not coeval with the institution of Bishops.

The earliest document with a certain date in which mention is made of the episcopal ring is that usually cited, viz. the 28th Canon of the Council of Toledo, held in the year 633, by which it is ordained that a Bishop, priest, or deacon condemned unjustly, and whose innocence is acknowledged by a second Synod, cannot perform the functions which they did before until they have received before the altar the degrees from which they were fallen, that is the ensigns of their office. "The Bishop shall receive the stole, the ring, and the staff, the priest the stole and the chasuble, the deacon the stole and the albe, the sub-deacon the chalice and paten, and so for the other degrees." From this it is evident that the Bishop must have received the ring and staff before they could have been taken from him on his deposition from his office, and from the manner in which they are mentioned it would seem that they had long been the habitual ensigns of the episcopal dignity. It may, therefore, I think be fairly inferred that the ring was adopted at some period between the compiling of the constitutions, probably in the fifth century, and the year 633.

There is, however, another authority, at least cotemporary with that council, if not of earlier date. St. Isidor, Bishop of Seville, who died A.D. 636, in his work "*De Ecclesiasticis Officiis*," lib. ii. c. 5, when writing on the episcopal dignity,

says, "Huic (Episcopo) autem dum consecratur datur baculus, ut ejus indicio subditam plebem vel regat vel corrigit, vel infirmitates sustineat. Datur et annulus propter signum pontificalis honoris vel signaculum secretarum." Here he informs us that the staff and ring were given to the Bishop at his consecration, and mentions the two-fold purpose and signification of the ring, but does not tell us from what source these insignia were derived.

Numerous authors, from the thirteenth century downwards, have written on the subject of the rituals and ceremonies of the Church at various periods, as well as the insignia of the different orders in the Church, but no light is thrown on the early history of the ring.

Durandus, Bishop of Mende, one of the most learned lawyers of the thirteenth century, in his "*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*," when writing on the Episcopal Ring, says, "Annulus est fidei sacramentum, quo Christus sponsam suam sanctam ecclesiam subarravit, ut ipsa de se dicere valeat, 'Annulo suo subarravit me Dominus meus, Jesus Christus,' cujus custodes et pædagogi sunt Episcopi et prelati, annulos pro signo in testimonium hujus rei ferentes." He then alludes to the return of the Prodigal Son, as mentioned in the Gospel, on whose hand his father ordered a ring to be placed as a mark of honour, and adds, "Ex quo evangelio annuli usus creditur acceptus." Again, "Annulus ergo pontificis integritatem significat fidei, ut videlicet ecclesiam Dei sponsam sibi creditam sicut se diligit, et sobriam et castam cœlesti sponso custodiat." Thus he considers the ring as a mark of dignity, and the symbol of the mystical union between the bishop and the church. Then with regard to the practical signification he says, "Antiqui literas annulo sigillabant, unde Episcopus annulum portat, quoniam Scripturæ mysteria et ecclesiæ sacramenta perfidis sigillare et humilibus revelare debet." Thus drawing a mystical meaning from the practical use of a seal ring. Again, "Annulus digiti donum significat Spiritus Sancti. Annulus aureus et rotundus perfectionem donorum ejus significat, quem sine mensurâ Christus accepit. Ipse de plenitudine suâ secundum differentes donationes distribuit; aliis secundum Apostolum dans sermonum scientiam, aliis gratiam sanitatum, aliis operationes virtutum, quod visibilis Pontifex imitatur, alios in ecclesiâ constituens sacerdotes, alios diaconos, alios subdiaconos. Non igitur ab re in Episcopi digito gemmatus fulget annulus, per cujus mysterium dantur fulgida carismata gratiarum."

These extracts will suffice to show the mystical significations attributed to the ring of the bishop by the early writers; and from the last passage we also learn that the ring was of gold and jewelled. Many subsequent writers might be cited,

but they mostly incorporate in their works the words of Isidor and Durandus, without, however, always making known the source from which they drew them. From the mystical meaning of the ring we will now proceed to its history, and in the eighth century we shall find it assume a new character.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, some attention seems to have been paid to the subject of rings in general, and several persons wrote concerning them. John Kirchmann, a learned German of Lubeck, published a treatise "*de Annulis*;" and about the same time Henry Kornmann also wrote another small treatise "*de triplici Annulo*." Kirchmann seems to have made deep research respecting these rings, and in the chapter on episcopal rings he gives their history as far as he had been able to trace it. The office of a bishop has been for many centuries conferred by investing the individual with a ring and pastoral staff, though in the first ages we have seen that it was not so. Of this custom he says he cannot find, in ancient writers, any trace earlier than the time of Charlemagne, who, when Italy had been ravaged by the Longobardi, the church plundered, and the capital itself menaced, was called in by Pope Adrian I. to assist in expelling the invaders. This he succeeded in doing by the conquest of Desiderius, the last King of the Lombards, in 774, and restored to the Church the possessions of which it had been deprived. In gratitude to Charlemagne for these important services which he had rendered to the church, it was decreed in a general synod held at Rome, attended by the Pope, and 153 bishops and abbots, that Charlemagne should have the power of electing the Pontiffs, and ordering the holy see, and that in addition the archbishops and bishops of the provinces should receive investiture from him. This right was afterwards confirmed to the Emperor Otho I. by Pope Leo III. in a bull which is still extant, and which Kirchmann cites *in extenso*, giving also his authorities for the whole history. He proceeds to say that he here finds, that among the other solemnities of episcopal investiture the ring was usurped, and that the Emperor was wont to send it, as a symbol, to him on whom he wished to confer a benefice; and he quotes a passage from William of Malmesbury, who reports Gregory VI. to have declared that Adrian I. was to be commended for having granted to Charlemagne the right of investiture of ecclesiastics, so that no elected person could be consecrated until he had received from the Emperor or King, as he is termed, the ring and staff as the ensign of his authority.

Here, then, we have not only an important change in the appointment to the episcopal office, but also the first mention of the source from which the ring was to proceed. He moreover states that, on the death of a bishop or abbot, the chief

persons of his college or city transmitted the ring and staff of the deceased prelate back to the Emperor, who afterwards conferred the sacred insignia on him whom he should choose; and, in proof thereof, cites a case in which the ring and staff of St. Otho, Bishop of Bremen, were sent back to the imperial court. He also cites the case of an abbot, who, on his deposition, placed his ring and staff on the altar, over the body of St. Benedict, in the presence of those who were assembled. He then goes on to say: "Of this kind were doubtless those sixteen large and good pontifical rings, one of ruby, with other gems set round it, one of emerald, one of sapphire, and one of topaz," which Bishop Conrad, in the old chronicles of Mayence, enumerates among the jewels of the church of that city.

In the history of the ring it will here be sufficient to mention that as an ensign of investiture it was in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a most fruitful source of discord between the Emperors and the Popes, until, in the year 1123, the Emperor Henry V., alarmed by the threats and excommunication of the Pope, ceded the right of investiture by the ring and staff to Pope Callixtus II., from which time the rings were sent to the bishops elect from the Pope, and I believe the practice continues to the present time.

So far for the history of episcopal rings. With regard to their fashion I have found no mention; and, from the result of the inquiries I have made, there does not appear to be any prescribed form, but that they have been usually made according to the taste and fashion of the time. Kornmann, who wrote his treatise early in the seventeenth century, quoting from the Roman Pontifical, says that the ring is given to the Bishop with these words: "Accipe annulum discretionis, et honoris et fidei signum, ut quæ signanda sunt signes, et quæ aperienda sunt prodas, quæ liganda sunt liges, et quæ solvenda sunt solvas;" and then citing the authority of a synod held at Milan, when matters respecting ecclesiastical ornaments were determined, states, "Annulus Episcopi ex auro puro solidè conflatus constat, cum gemmâ pretiosiore in quo nihil sculpti esse debet." Many examples of episcopal rings have been found in the ancient tombs of bishops; those found at Chichester, Hereford, and Wells, may be cited as instances among many others where the bishops of old were interred with their rings and croziers, and some of these are of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These rings are usually of middling size, slender, and of rather antique form, plain, and without ornament, and set with an uncut stone of no great size or fine quality, which is frequently a ruby or sapphire. It is difficult to reconcile the practice of returning the ring to the Emperor, with that of interring the bishop with his ring on his finger; but it is probable that, when in the twelfth century the Emperor ceded to the Popes the

right of investiture by the ring, the sending back the ring was dispensed with; and, being the property of the Church, and not of the Emperor, the Bishop was allowed to be interred with his ring as an emblem of his dignity.

Investiture by the ring was not however altogether confined to Bishops or ecclesiastical persons. The Emperor was himself at his inauguration invested with a ring; and Kirchmann tells us that, at the coronation of Ferdinand III. at Ratisbon, in 1616, a few years before he wrote, the Archbishop and Elector of Maintz, having received from the altar a very precious ring, placed it on the finger of the Emperor with these words: "*Accipe regiæ dignitatis annulum, et per hoc Catholicæ fidei cognosce signaculum, et ut hodie ordinariis caput et princeps regni et populi, ita perseverabilis auctor et stabilitor Christianitatis et Christianæ fidei fias, ut feliciter in opere cum Rege regum glorioris per eum, cui est honor et gloria, per infinita secula seculorum.—Amen.*"

It will only be necessary to mention the fact that from very early times our sovereigns have also been invested with a ring at their coronation, and that they were in some cases buried with their rings; for on this subject much information is to be found in the third volume of our *Archæologia*. But another circumstance is also deserving notice, that according to John of Salisbury, who was a cotemporary, the Pope Adrian VIII. ceded and gave to Henry II. King of England the island of Ireland, in hereditary possession, on the ground that, according to the grant of Constantine, all islands belonged to the see of Rome, and he sent at the same time as the mark of investiture a large gold ring set with a fine emerald, which was preserved in the royal treasury.

Not only kings, however, but other dignitaries used to receive investiture by a ring. According to some ancient French writers, a duke was invested by a cap of gold (*chapeau d'or*) ornamented with pearls; a marquis with a ring set with a ruby; a count with a diamond-ring; a viscount with a rod of gold; and a baron with a banner.

Cardinals on their creation receive a ring, and the stone is usually a sapphire.

As far, however, as I am able to learn there is no ceremonial of the investiture of a Pope with a ring at his coronation, though it is on record in the *Epistles* of Arnulphus, Bishop of Roehester, that the antipope Octavianus, who called himself Victor I., laid the apostolical insignia at the feet of the Emperor Barbarossa, and received investiture from him by a ring. Here I may mention that I have it from authority which may be relied on that the Pope has no official ring which he wears. There is, however, one ring which his Holiness wears on the occasion of performing certain great functions. The stone is an exquisitely fine

cameo of the head of our Saviour, cut in bloodstone, which is known to be more than 300 years old, probably a fine cinquecento gem, and of course descends from one Pope to another.

I must not, however, omit to mention one important ring, as it is called, belonging to the Pope, which, though it is neither an episcopal or investiture ring, seems in an especial manner to bear the character of an official signet ring. This is the so-called "Fisherman's Ring." Whatever may be its actual form, and of this we are at present ignorant, it is certainly now not a ring to be worn, and has for ages past been simply a seal, nor does there appear any record of its ever having been worn, though from its name and use we may fairly infer that it was at some very remote period worn as the signet-ring of the pontiffs. It is the Pope's lesser seal or signet used for documents of minor consequence, and the impression is usually made on red wax, or stamped on the paper; the Bulla being what may be termed the great seal, employed for giving validity to instruments of greater importance, and the impression of it is always on lead. The origin of the fisherman's ring is obscure. Mabillon says that he has not been able to find anything about it earlier than what Massonus relates, who quotes a letter from Pope Clement IV. dated 1264, to his kinsman Ægidius Grassus, in which he says, "Non scribimus tibi nec consanguineis nostris sub bullâ, sed sub piscatoris sigillo, quo Romani Pontificis in suis secretis utuntur." Thus in the thirteenth century it was not called by the Pope himself *annulus*, but *sigillum*, and its use as a private seal or signet distinctly enunciated. It would be vain to speculate on its origin, but it derives its name from a representation of St. Peter in a fisherman's boat of ancient form, which is engraved on it, and not from any tradition that it ever belonged to St. Peter, as from its English name is not uncommonly supposed. The Germans call it "Der Fischer-ring," which is "The Fisherman-Ring," whereas we, probably in our translation of *Annulus Piscatoris*, have termed it The Fisherman's Ring, seeming to imply thereby that it had once belonged to "the Fisherman." The figure of St. Peter forms the centre, and round it is the name of the reigning Pope, if the figure of an impression of this seal given in a recent work on rings, published in America, is correct. Of this ring or seal little seems to be authentically known, save that it has from an early period been only a seal, though it may possibly still have the form of a ring. We are informed in Sedler's Lexicon, and it is generally believed, that on the death of a Pope one of the duties of the Cardinal-Chamberlain is to destroy this seal, and that a new one is made for the successor to the papal throne.

In conclusion, the inference I am disposed to draw from the foregoing investi-

gation is, that as in all times and countries the affixing a seal to a document gave it its validity and binding force, the seal was the real instrument of the power and authority of any office, and therefore became the symbol of it. That in the earliest times it was customary to have seals and signets in the form of rings, probably as a convenient mode of carrying them, possibly for ornament, and certainly the greatest security against their being used without the knowledge and contrary to the will of the wearer. The delivery, therefore, of the seal or signet ring was committing to the individual the authority and power to execute the rights and duties of his office; and, though official seals ceased to be signet rings, and rings ceased to be the actual signets, the form was preserved, and the ring was still employed as the symbol of authority to use the seal; and this authority continued to be conferred by the delivery of a ring long after the original use and meaning of it had passed away. The real meaning of the ring having been forgotten, a mystical one was invented and adopted.

XXXV. *On the Abbot of Waltham's House, in the parish of Saint Mary-at-Hill, London. In a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, from G. R. CORNER, Esq. F.S.A.*

Read February 14 and March 6, 1856.

3, Paragon, New Kent Road,
5th February, 1856.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

IT is remarkable that Stowe makes no mention of the Abbot of Waltham's House at St. Mary-at-Hill, although the industrious London historian lived hard by, in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft; and the only printed notice of it that I am aware of is in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. iv. pp. 417, 420, where it is stated that the parish purchased the abbot of Waltham's kitchen, and erected the south aisle of the parish church on the site thereof in the year 1501.

St. Mary's Hill is a street running north and south, from Eastcheap to Billingsgate, and at a short distance on the west is a narrow lane called Love Lane, one of the narrowest and most crooked lanes in the city of London, running from Eastcheap to Thames Street. The parish church of St. Mary-at-Hill stands between these two ways, and the abbot of Waltham's house stood on the south side of the church towards Billingsgate.

Waltham Abbey was re-founded (as an abbey) by King Henry II. in 1177, and Walter de Gaunt, the first abbot of Waltham, became possessed of some ground in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, on the south side of the church of that parish, by purchase from Scotland de Ifeld and Idonea his wife, on which ground the abbot built a house or inn, for the residence and convenience of himself and his successors when business or occasion should bring them to London.

By a deed (without date) Scotland de Ifeld and Idonea his wife granted to God and the Church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, in perpetual alms, for the health of their souls and the health of the souls of all theirs, the land which was of Aluric de Hulla, near the church of St. Mary de Hulla in London, towards the west, subject to the annual rent of one penny. And with that grant Scotland gave his body to be buried, with his most dear brothers, at Waltham. Witnesses, Nigel the chaplain, Ralph the chaplain, Gilbert de Dakenham, Symon the clerk, Richard dean of Shepey,^a Richard the

^a "Ric. Diac' de Scapeya."

clerk, Hubert the clerk, Jordan the alderman, William the clerk, son of Alexander Sperleng, John, Martin, and Theodorie his brothers, Hamon fitz Hugh, John de Polstede, Hudo and William the bakers, Godwin the merchant, Gilbert the felt-maker, Symon the weaver, Bernard the bedell, Alwin Maie, Robert de Walton, Norman the draper, William the smith, William son of Jordan, Walter the weaver, and many others. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 90.)

This purchase was effected by the abbot of Waltham through the agency of William son of Alexander Sperleng of London, who is one of the witnesses to the last charter, and who by another writing declared that Walter abbot of Waltham had often spoken with him seeking a place where he might make an inn in a place convenient to himself and his men and carts, which often came to London for his victuals and other necessities. That at length he shewed the abbot it would be most desirable to purchase the land of Scotland de Ifeld and Idonea his wife, if any adjoining land could be acquired, because the aforesaid land was of itself too small, and that by agreement he treated with Scotland and Idonea for its purchase, lest, if they chanced to know that the abbot desired to buy it, they should have made it too dear to him. Whereupon he publicly bought the said land of the said man and his wife, and had their charter of it; but the money which he paid, the abbot gave him of the money of his house. Therefore he disclaimed all right to the land, and before the alderman and many neighbours and honest men delivered it to the abbot, and for him and his heirs for ever he quit-claimed the same to the House of Waltham, and delivered to them the charter of the aforesaid knight (as Scotland de Yfeld is now called), saving to himself while he lived lodging in the abbot's house, as testified by a writing which he had of the abbot and convent. Witnesses, Jordan the alderman, Alexander Sperleng, Jordan of the Tower,^a Odo and Ralph chaplains, Constantine, Robert Blund,^b William Veisin, John son of Alexander Sperleng, Martin and Ralph^c his brothers, Symon de Garschirche, Odo the baker, Gilbert the feltmaker, Symon the weaver, Ralph oter, Geoffrey the fishmonger, Matthew of Billingsgate, William the smith, Bernard the bedell. (Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90 b.)

On the ground thus obtained Abbot Walter erected his mansion, but he added to it several other acquisitions; as it appears, from the declaration of William

^a In 7 John the King granted to Thomas Lavell of York all the houses, lands, rents, &c. of Jordan of the Tower, in London. Rot. Cart.

^b Robert Blund was sheriff of London 1196-7.

^c Ralph Sperleng was an alderman in 1245, twenty-ninth Henry III. Lib. de Antiq. Legib. ij. In 33 Henry III. the aldermanry of Ralph Sperleng owed the king 10s. for harbouring Martin de Maydenstan, a fugitive. (Madox, *Firma Burgi*, p. 92.)

Sperling, that the ground obtained from Scotland de Ifeld was not of itself sufficient for the purpose, and the family of Sperling aided the abbot, by grants of their own land, in order to enable him to erect a house fit for the residence of a mitred abbot.

By another deed (without date) Alexander son of Sperling granted to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, a part of his garden near his house in London, as it was then inclosed, which he acquired from Wot and from Drueline, which lay to the south and to the west of the house of William fitz Isabel,^a which William Veisin held of him; reserving the rent of one farthing at the feast of Easter for all services. Witnesses, Odo and Ralph his chaplains, John, William, Martin, and Theodoric his sons, Henry fitz Eilwine, Bernard the beadle, Ralph the ironmonger, Odo the baker, Robin White, Gilbert the feltmaker, Thomas the corn-meter, Matthew of Billingsgate, William Veisin, Geoffrey of Billingsgate. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 91.)

Another addition was made to the possessions of Waltham Abbey in London by the same Alexander son of Sperling, who by deed (undated) confirmed to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, for the health of his soul, and the souls of all his ancestors, and all the faithful, the cellar which he held of the church of St. Mary of Southwark, by [the rent of] two shillings, and all the land that Ralph Pol held of him, which land extended ten feet towards the west from the cellar, and the shop that Geoffrey held of him towards the east of the cellar, and the land which James Grenefugel held of him, and the land which Theobald son of Yvo held of him, and the land which William the smith held of him, and the land of Bernard the bedell, with the land of Robert de Benestede, to find lights before St. Mary's altar in the church of Waltham, in pure, and perpetual, and free alms. And therewith he also gave his body to be buried with his most dear brothers of Waltham. Witnesses, Master Symon of Cornwall, Odo chaplain of St. Andrew's,^b Helyas son of Godard, Robert de Enefeld, John Aperil, Philip Aguilun, Stephen son of Edward. (Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 91 b.)

By a deed of convention and exchange (without date) between Walter abbot and the canons regular of Waltham, and Gervase of Aldermansberi and Agnes his maternal aunt, and Atheliza niece of the said Agnes, they released to the abbot and canons all the land which they had between the house of Robert Blund and the house of Brunman the smith, and all their right to the said land, for ten marks and a half of silver, which the abbot and canons gave to the said women. And

^a William fitz Isabel was Sheriff of London 1194.

^b St. Andrew Hubbard, a neighbouring parish, or St. Andrew Undershaft.

the abbot and canons agreed to pay the annual rent of one penny and one farthing to the lord of the fee for the same land. And moreover the abbot and canons granted to the said Gervase, and Agnes, and Atheliza, in exchange, all the land which they had on the other side of the way, which lay between the land of Walter Brune which William the feltmaker held, and between the lane which was near the house of Henry de Buhun, to wit, whatever the abbot and canons possessed there, without any reservation, and for which the said Gervase, and Agnes, and Atheliza should pay the annual rent of one halfpenny to the lord of the fee. Witnesses, Jordan the alderman, Roger son of Alan,^a John son of Herlie^b (Herlyson), Simon de Aldermanbury,^c John Esperleng, William his brother, Robert Blund, Philip son of Roger, Gilbert the feltmaker, Matthew of Billingsgate, Godard the tanner, Walter his brother, Ralph oter, William Veisin, Odo the baker, William the smith, Geoffrey the fishmonger, Bernard the bedel, Edward the clerk. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 92.)

Robert Chamberlain, son of William Chamberlain,^d by deed (undated) gave to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, four shillings quit-rent in the parish of St. Benedict Gracechurch, from the land which Godard the mercer, and Roger and Adeliza his wife, daughter of the same Godard, held of him, for the love of God and the health of his soul, and the souls of his father and mother and his ancestors, in perpetual alms, reserving annually for all services one pound of pepper, or six pence, for which grant the said canons gave him in full hustings the sum of forty shillings. Witnesses, Henry fitz Ailwin,^e Jordan of the Tower, Robert Besant and Jukell, then sheriffs, John son of Herlie, William son of Sabeline, William Blund, Peter son of Edward Blund, Nicholas Duket,^f Gilbert Dane, John Burg, Arnisius son of Alulf,^g Samson of St. Martin's, William Esperleng, Henry the Welshman, Geoffrey bonechaie, Robert and Michael sons of Robert Besant, Edward the clerk. (MS. Harl. 391, fo. 92.)

Robert Besaunt and Jukel, alderman, were sheriffs of London in 1195. In Fabyan's Chronicle and the Chronicle of London the latter is called Jokel le Josne (or the young). The date of the last deed is therefore ascertained; and the preceding grants and the erection of the abbot's house in London may in all probability be assigned to the same, or a somewhat earlier date.

^a Roger fitz Alan was sheriff of London 1193.

^b John Herlyson, sheriff of London 1190.

^c Simon de Aldermanbury, sheriff of London 1201.

^d William Chamberlain was sheriff of London 1203.

^e Henry fitz Alwyn was mayor of London from 1189 to 1212.

^f Nicholas Duket, sheriff 1192.

^g Arnaud fitz Alulf was sheriff of London 1199.

The following grant mentions Walter the first abbot of Waltham, and I therefore conclude its date to have been after the death of Abbot Walter, in 1201.

Constantine fitz Aluph,^a by deed (also undated) granted to God and the church of the Holy Cross of Waltham, and the canons regular serving God there, all the land that he held of the nuns of Clerkenwell, in the parish of St. Mary de Hulla, to wit, that land which lies between the stone house which Walter first abbot of Waltham built in the same parish and the land of Cecilia of Billingsgate, reserving a yearly rent of one pound of pepper, or six pence, for all services, at the feast of St. Michael, and sixteen pence which the said church of Waltham should pay yearly for him and his heirs to the nuns of Clerkenwell at Michaelmas and Easter, for which grant the abbot of Waltham gave him, of the money of his church, six marks of silver. The witnesses are, Jordan the alderman, Jordan of the Tower, Alexander son of Sperleng, William fitz Aluph, John the Burgundian (?), Gilbert the Dane, Jordan Peverell, John son of Alexander, William and Martin his brothers, Galfridus fitz Herbert, Robert White, Gilbert feltmaker, Adam feltmaker, Bernard the bedell, William Veisin, Robert cook, Alfwine carpenter, Odo baker, Ralph oter, Matthew of Billingsgate, Geoffrey of Billingsgate, Arnisius, William the smith, Helyas son of Godard, Godwin the merchant, Henry the mason, Symon de Garschirsche, Leward the porter, Robert de Woburn, Paulin the merchant, Bernard de Beauvais, Alketin of Billingsgate, Stephen the painter, Walter Limbarue, Robert de Walton, Roger de Garschirche, William the vendor of the house of Odo the baker, and many others. (MS. Harl. No. 391, fo. 90 b. 91 d.)

Philip of St. Bride's also granted to the abbot and canons of Waltham certain land in London; but the description is wanting, and the date unascertainable, for the cartulary breaks off at the commencement of this grant, a leaf or more being wanting; and Le Neve, in whose handwriting are the marginal notes to this MS., has written at the bottom of the page, "*cetera desiderantur adhuc.*"

It was most probably on the ground purchased of Constantine fitz Aluph that Richard abbot of Waltham (I believe the fifth abbot, from 1218 to 1229) built a chapel, and he obtained licence from William (De Sancta Maria) bishop of London, (1199 to 1221), with the assent of his chapter of Saint Paul's, to celebrate divine

^a Constantine fitz Aluph was sheriff of London in 1198. He was a favourer of Louis of France against King John, and even in 1222, during the minority of King Henry III. in which year he had the misfortune to be hanged, by order of Hubert de Burgh, chief justiciary, (*sine judicio*), for heading the citizens in a riot, directed against the abbot of Westminster, arising out of a wrestling match. This illegal execution was charged against Hubert de Burgh by the citizens when he fell into disgrace ten years afterwards. (*Liber de Antiq. Legib.* 2, 5.—Maitland's London.)

service in the chapel which he had built in his court near the church of St. Mary-of-the-Hill, in London; saving all episcopal rights, and those of the archdeacon, and of the parish church of St. Mary-of-the-Hill. And if any oblations should come to the hands of the said abbot, his brethren or successors, in the said chapel, they should be transferred to the said parish church, without any deduction, retention, or delay. Witnesses, Master Robert de Watford, dean of London; Master William de St. Mary's Church, archdeacon of London; Master Roger Niger, archdeacon of Colchester; Dñs Peter de St. Mary's Church, treasurer of London; Master Henry Cornhill, chancellor of London; Dom^s Roger of Worcester, Master John Witheng, Master Ralph de Besants, Master Alexander de Wereford, archdeacon of Shrewsbury, Master Philip de Haddam, Master John de Storteford, Master William de Purl, and others. (MS. Harl. 391, fo. 120b.)

I have not met with any notices of the abbots of Waltham during the period of their occupation of this mansion; and I must therefore pass over a period of three hundred years between the erection of the chapel and the sale of the abbot's kitchen to the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, whereon the south aisle of the church was built in 1501, as before stated.

The accounts, however, of the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, published by Mr. Nichols, in "Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Ancient Times in England" (1797), give us some instances of an interchange of courtesies between the abbots and the parish, *ex. gr.*—

A.D.	s.	d.
1485. Paid for two gallons of wine, red and claret, given to the Abbot of Waltham and to Sir Thomas Bowghser (Bourchier), for that they should have been good benefactors to our church in divers things	1	8
1500. Spent at the Abbot's Inn on Mr. Wryne, Mr. Suckling, R. Howling, when we began to make a note for the said ground (the ground on which the Abbot's kitchen stood, and on which the south aisle of the church was built)	0	5
1502. Paid for a pike sent to my Lord Abbot of Waltham to the Abbot's Inn	2	8
For a turbot ditto	1	8
To a servant of ditto for a reward for bringing venison	1	8
1503. Spent at the Abbot's Inn, at the "etting of a bok" (eating of a buck) that my Lord Abbot of Waltham gave to the parish	1	8
Same year. Spent at eating at Mr. Alderman's "a bok" (buck) given to the parish by the Lord Abbot of Waltham	9	8

We obtain some description of the abbot's house after the surrender of the abbey and its possessions by Abbot Fuller to King Henry VIII. in the thirty-first

year of his reign, from the Ministers' Accounts in the Augmentation Office, and it appears to have been a very extensive and considerable mansion.

In the thirty-first and thirty-second years of King Henry VIII. John Higham accounts for rents arising from houses, wharfs, and tenements in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, which I take to have been part of the property of Waltham Abbey, and, among others, for eight shillings for the farm (rent) of two cellars lying in Love Lane, situate under the great chamber of the great messuage called "The Abbot's Inn," in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, (received) from Roger Chaloner, (demised to him) his executors, administrators, and assigns, by indenture, dated 18th February, in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VIII. from the feast of St. Michael then last, for the term of ninety years, for the profits coming or arising from the farm of the outer part of the great messuage or mansion called the Abbot's Inn, in the parish aforesaid, situate and being towards the rectory, as far as a small chamber, next adjoining the chapel chamber, as well above as built under, to wit, a certain stable chamber above the gate of the aforesaid mansion, the erection of the cloister, and also the shed with a private tenement built beneath, next adjoining the new parlour (*conclavi*) there, to wit, within the time of that account not received, because the late abbot and convent of the said late monastery, by their writing indented, gave and granted to the aforesaid Roger Chaloner and Dorothy his wife the keeping of the said great messuage or mansion aforesaid near Billingsgate, to hold to the said Roger and Dorothy, their executors and assigns, during the term aforesaid; and moreover they gave and granted to the said Roger and Dorothy, during the term aforesaid, for the keeping of the said mansion, all the outerpart or front of the said mansion, with all the buildings, solars, and other things above declared and specified, without paying any rent for the same. And in which said indenture it is covenanted that the said late abbot and convent, and their successors, should perform all the reparations of the said mansion during the said term at their own expense.* And he certified that he had not received any profits from the residue of the house and buildings of the said mansion, called Abbot's Inn, in the said indenture reserved and excepted (to wit), the great court called the court yard, the hall, the chapel, the chamber called the chapel-chamber built above, together with the dormitory, kitchen,

* It does not appear whether this lease was granted by the abbot and convent to Chaloner for a valuable consideration, or whether it was a voluntary grant; but it was not the only thing he had from them, for Robert abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, and the convent, patrons of the sinecure chapel of St. Andrew Altrichesey (Arlesey, in co. Bedford,) granted the next presentation to Roger Chaloner of London, mercer. Dated 12 March, 1530.—Collect. Top. and Gen. vol. vi. p. 232.

larder, with a small new parlour (*conclave*), a small chamber below, next adjoining the great gate, and likewise the coal-house, because the said court, chamber and certain premises so in the aforesaid indenture reserved and excepted, could not be let within the time of that account.

Roger Chaloner was a substantial citizen of that day. He is mentioned in a list of the Mercers' Company in 1537, preserved at the Chapter House, Westminster.

He was descended from an ancient Welsh family, and was the father of Sir Thomas Chaloner, of Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Steeple Claydon, Bucks, who was equally renowned in arms and literature; having been knighted at Musselburgh by the Protector Somerset in 1547; and he was the author of some celebrated works in Latin and English, verse and prose, and after the accession of Queen Elizabeth he was sent as her ambassador to Philip of Spain. His son, also Sir Thomas, was equally celebrated with his father as a man of great accomplishments. He was tutor or governor to Prince Henry, son of King James the First, and he introduced the manufacture of alum into England, establishing it at his estate of Guisborough.^a

Roger Chaloner was an inhabitant of the adjoining parish of Saint Dunstan-in-the-East, and he seems also to have occupied land at Low Layton, in Essex, for by a deed (*penes me*) dated 28th January, thirty-third Henry VIII. John Elryngton, of Hackney, gentleman, in consideration of thirty pounds, bargained and sold to Roger Chaloner and his heirs all those his lands, pastures, woods, underwoods, rents, and services, with their appurtenances, called Knott's lands, containing by estimation forty-six acres, more or less, as well free as customary, situate, lying, and being in the town and parish of Leighton, in Essex, which he the said Roger, before the making of that deed, had and occupied in farm of the demise and lease of Robert Elryngton, father of the said John.

By his will, in which he is styled Roger Chaloner of the city of London, esquire, dated 7th June, 4th of Edward VI. he gave and devised to his (third) wife, Isabel (who was widow of William Allen of London, and mother of Sir William Allen, lord mayor in 1571), his great mansion in St. Mary-Hill parish, called Waltham, and also his dwelling-mansion in Tower Street, during the term of her life, with remainder to his next heirs. And he gave the residue of his estate to his three sons, Sir Thomas, John, and Francis, and to his two daughters, and he nominated his wife sole executrix, who proved the will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 24th June, 1550, and buried her husband at St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, where she herself was buried 21st August, 1558, according to the directions of her

^a Memoirs of both the Sir Thomas Chaloners will be found in the *Biographia Britannica*.

will, before her pew in the body of the church, and as near to her late husband as convenient.*

I have not discovered to whom the house of the abbot of Waltham was granted by the king, but Roger Chaloner must have acquired the reversion, and turned his lease into a freehold estate by some means previous to his death in 1550, for he devises it by his will to his heirs; and I find among the pleas of land in the Court of Hustings at Guildhall, in the first year of Queen Mary, the record of a recovery suffered in that year by Sir Thomas Chaloner, Knt. son and heir of Roger Chaloner, and Dame Joan his wife, to William Allen, citizen and leather-seller, who was his stepbrother, and afterwards Sir William Allen, and to Thomas Blanke, junior, citizen and haberdasher (afterwards Sir Thomas Blanke, Lord mayor of London in 1582), of one messuage or tenement situate in the parish of St. Peter at Paul's Wharf, and also one great messuage or inn called Abbot's Inn, situate in the parish of the blessed Mary-at-Hill, near Billingsgate, in the ward of Billingsgate, London.

That recovery was suffered upon a sale of the abbot of Waltham's Inn by Sir Thomas Chaloner to Thomas Blanke the elder (father of Sir Thomas Blanke,) and the abbot's house was thereupon pulled down by Mr. Blanke, who rebuilt the same, and it became the residence of his son Sir Thomas Blanke, the lord mayor.

Thomas Blanke the elder, citizen and haberdasher of London, lived in Gracechurch Street, and by his will dated 2nd June, 1562, and proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury 23rd December, 1563, he gave and bequeathed unto Thomas Blanke his son, and to Margaret his wife, all that his great messuage or tenement called Abbot's Inn, wherein they (his son and his wife) then dwelt, with all cellars, sollars, warehouses, and other edifices thereunto belonging, situate, lying, and being in the parish of Saint Mary-at-Hill in the city of London, and his messuage or house with the appurtenances lying in Peter Lane nigh Paul's Wharf, within the city of London; that is to say (in his own words), "all the whole purchase which I late bought of Sir Thomas Challynor, Knt. which purchase cost me three hundreth pounds in money; and I paid more of my own money towards the new building of the same great house called Abbotts Inn, nine hundreth pounds, so that in verie deed the said purchase of the said old house and the building of the new house thereupon cost me in the whole in ready money twelve hundreth poundes, I give God thanks for it, praying also unto God that my son Thomas Blancke and his said wife may long dwell in the said great

* Her will proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury '6 October, 1558. (See Machyn's Diary, Camden Society, p. 171.)

house, and to serve God therein according to their duties above all other things and charges. To have and to hold both the same my two messuages or tenements with their appurtenances to the said Thomas my son and Margaret his wife, and to the heirs males of the body of the said Thomas lawfully begotten or to be begotten, upon condition that the said Thomas my son, or any of the heires males of his body, shall not alien, discontinue, or suffer any feint recovery of the premises or any part thereof." And, for want of issue of his son Thomas Blancke, the testator devised the same hereditaments to Thomas Altham, son of James Altham, alderman of London, and of his wife, Elizabeth (then deceased), who was a daughter of Thomas Blancke the elder, and his heirs in tail, with remainders successively to Edward, James, John, and Matthew, brothers of the said Thomas Altham. He gave many charitable and other legacies, among which were 60*l.* to the free school at Guildford, and 5*l.* per annum payable out of the Abbot's Inn to the poor of Bridge Ward, and a cup and cover to the Haberdashers' Company; and he desired to be buried at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap.

His son Sir Thomas Blancke was elected alderman of Queenhithe ward, 23rd February, 1572. He was sheriff in 1574, and lord mayor in 1582. He died 28th October, 1588, and was buried at St. Mary-at-Hill. His epitaph in Stowe's Survey is very laudatory, and says he was known as "the good knight." His second wife was Margaret Traves, who died 2nd February, 1596, and was also buried at St. Mary-at-Hill.

Sir Thomas Blancke dying without issue, the Abbot's Inn went, according to the entail in his father's will, to the Althams. They were a family of some standing in London: Edward Altham had been sheriff in 1531. He was the father of James, who married, first, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Blancke the elder, and secondly, Mary widow of Sir Andrew Judd, lord mayor of London in 1550, and was the father of Thomas, Edward, James, John, and Matthew, mentioned in the will of their grandfather Thomas Blancke the elder. In this family the Abbot's Inn remained vested until the Fire of London, when the house built by Thomas Blancke the elder on the site thereof shared the fate of the large portion of the city which was consumed in the conflagration of 1666, and a decree was made by the Court of Judicature for the determination of differences between landlords and tenants and owners of adjoining buildings destroyed by the great fire, dated the 28th October, 1667, on the petition of Sir James Altham, Knight of the Bath, setting forth that James Altham, Esq. being seized in fee, had demised a certain large messuage called "The Abbot's Inn," in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, to Elizabeth Freeman, widow, for a term of thirty-one years, at the

rent of 33*l.* per annum (the premises being worth 150*l.* per annum), of which term but one year remained unexpired at the time of the fire; and that the lease had become vested in Thomas Lenthall, Esq. who had refused to contribute towards the rebuilding of the house, which would cost 2,500*l.*; and Mr. Lenthall being summoned, and appearing by his counsel, and the matter being debated in court whether the petitioner should be the builder, or the defendant, it was declared by the court that although a tenant who desires to build and to return to the place of his habitation and trade, if he be a shopkeeper who lives by his customers resorting to his shop, ought to be preferred to be the rebuilder, yet in this case the defendant, being a merchant, keeping no outward shop, and being a person very aged, who hath had and enjoyed his lease within one year of its expiration, and the building being now to be in another form than formerly, and inasmuch as the petitioner having the inheritance in all probability would rebuild better than any termor, and for the best advantage, the court declared that the premises should be rebuilt by Sir James Altham, and that the residue of the term of the lease should be surrendered and determined.

Sir James Altham was the eldest son of Sir Edward Altham, of Marks Hall, Essex, which he inherited, and he was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of King Charles II. in 1661.

Having brought the history of the Abbot of Waltham's Inn to comparatively modern times, it is unnecessary to pursue the inquiry further. The documents before us disclose the history of the place from the purchase by the first abbot (of the new foundation) about the year 1195 till the fire of London in 1666, and afford altogether a very remarkable series of topographical documents relating to an interesting edifice, which has escaped the notice of the painstaking and indefatigable Stowe and other city historians.

At the head of Billingsgate Dock (now covered by part of the Market-house) and in close proximity to the house of the Abbot of Waltham, in St. Mary-at-Hill, was an open piece of ground called "Romeland."

Of this place Maitland says, "Roomland," or place where the masters of coal-ships, coalmongers, and heavers, daily meet to transact their affairs in.^a And at the head of Queenhithe Dock there was also an open space of ground called "Rome-land;" but the most remarkable circumstance as connected with our present subject, is, that at Waltham Abbey, near the Abbey Mill, is a wide space of ground surrounded by small dwellings, called "The Bramblings," but formerly

^a Maitland's History of London, 1st edit. 1739, p. 455.

“Rome-land,” which is conjectured to have been so called from its rents having been in former times appropriated to the use of the Holy See. On this spot King Henry VIII. is reported to have had a small pleasure-house which he frequently occupied on his visits to Waltham. The statute fair is still held on this piece of ground.^a

Of this Romeland (at Waltham) Fuller says, “Yet Waltham bells told no tales every time King Henry came hither.” And he further says, “The mentioning of the consent of Pope Alexander to the suppression of Waltham dean and canons, and substituting Augustinians in their room, mindeth me of a spacious place in this town at the entrance of the abbey, built about with houses, called ‘Rome-land’ (as Peter-pence were called Rome-scot) at this day. It is generally believed that the rents thereof peculiarly belonged to the Church of Rome.”^b

In the Churchwardens’ Accounts of St. Mary-at-Hill, we find the following references to Romeland: viz.—

A.D. 1518. For cleansing of the Romeland and Billingsgate:—

[Several items for lighters and labour amounting to] . . . £9 13 0

Mr. Nichols refers this to Romeland at Waltham, but it was Romeland at Billingsgate.

1557. Paid for bringing down the images to Romeland, and other things, to

be burnt 0 1 0

By a decree of the Court of Chancery, in the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII. concerning Romeland at Billingsgate, between the Corporation of London and the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, it was confirmed to the city. (See Gentleman’s Magazine, vol. xxxix. N.S. 1853, p. 393. Id. pp. 509 and 617.) There was a Romeland at St. Alban’s bearing the same relative position to the abbey there as Romeland at Waltham does to that abbey; and on it was a mansion called Rome-land House. “The Sheriffs brought George Tankerfield to the place where he should suffer, which was called ‘Romeland,’ being a green place near to the west end of the abbey church.” (Foxe’s Acts and Monuments, iii. 330, edit. 1688.)

There seems to be much obscurity about the origin and meaning of the name of Romeland, and I have not been able to arrive at any conclusion satisfactory to my own mind upon the subject; but I have mentioned the subject, as it seems to be peculiarly connected with Waltham Abbey, in London and Essex, and whether it had any reference or peculiar dedication to the Church of Rome, or whether

^a The Graphic Illustrator, p. 105.

^b Fuller’s History of Waltham Abbey.

these places were mere landing-places for the convenience of shipmasters and merchants, and called "Room-lands," I must leave to more learned antiquaries to determine.

I remain, dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful servant,

GEO. R. CORNER.

APPENDIX.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90.]

CARTA SCOTLANDI de YFELD de loco et t̃ra edificioꝝ ñroꝝ in LONDONIIS.

London. ^a

Oñibus xp̃i fidelibꝫ ad q̃s p̃sēs s̃c̃ptū p̃veñit Scotland^o de Yfeld ⁊ Idonea uxor ej^o sãtm. Notū sit võb oñibꝫ nos dedisse ⁊ g̃cessisse ⁊ p̃senti carta g̃firmasse Deo ⁊ eccl̃ie S̃c̃e Crucis de Walth ⁊ Canonicis reglaribꝫ ibidē D'o ſ̃vientibꝫ in p̃petuā elemosinā p̃ salute ñra ⁊ omniū ñrorū t̃ra q̃e fuit Alurici de Hulla juxta eccl̃iā S̃c̃e Marie de Hulla in Lundoniis vers^o occidentē ⁊ eandē t̃ra q̃ietā ⁊ liberā clamamus p̃d̃c̃is Canonicis ĩp̃petuū ab oī exaccione seculari ⁊ nich̃ juris vel g̃suetudinis nob̃ retinem^o vel h̃edibꝫ ñris ĩ jād̃icta t̃ra vel ĩ edificiis ibidē edificatis, nisi unū denariū q̃m Dom^o de Walth nob̃ solvet annuatī ad festū S'i Michael. Et Dom^o de Walth adq̃uetabit nos de p̃fata t̃ra ūs^o capitalē dñm: de t̃b^o sõt annuatī. Et cū hac donatione ñra: Ego Scotland^o do ⁊ g̃cedo cor̃p̃ meū sepeliendū cū k̃m̃is fribꝫ meis ap̃d Walth. Testibꝫ his, Nigello cap̃eſto. Rað cap̃eſto. Gileb̃to d̃ Dakenhā. Syñ c̃lico. Rič Diač de Scapeya. Rič c̃lico. Huð c̃lico. Jord̃ aldmanno. Wiſto c̃lico fit Alexand̃ Spleng. Johe, M^ortino, t̃rico frib̃ ej^o. Hamone fit Hugoñ. Johe de Polstede. Hudoñ. Wiſto pistoribꝫ. Godwino m̃catore. Gilleb̃ felt^orio. Syñ telañ. Bernard̃ bedello. Alwino Maie. Roð de Waleſ. Normanno d^opario. Wiſto fab^o. Wiſto fit Jord̃. Walſ telario, ⁊ m̃ltis aliis.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90, 90 b.]

CARTA WILL'I SP'LENG, de t̃ra nobis empta a SCOTLANDO de YFELD in LONDONIIS.

London.

Oñibꝫ xp̃i fidelibꝫ ad q̃s p̃sēs s̃c̃ptū p̃veñit: Wiſs fili^o Alexand^o Splēg de Lond̃ sãtm. Certū sit võb oñibꝫ q̃d Walſ abbas de Walth sepe locut^o ⁊ mecū q̃rēs ubi hospiciū q̃ddā fãce possit utili loco sⁱ ⁊ suis ⁊ caretis suis q̃e sepi^o p̃ victualibꝫ suis ⁊ aliis sⁱ necessariis Lond̃ veniebāt ⁊ tandē cū ego ostendem illi q̃d utilissima ēet sⁱ t̃ra q̃e fuit Scotlandi de Yfeld ⁊ Idonea

^a The marginal notes are in the handwriting of Peter Le Neve.

uxoris illi^o s' ēn aliq's ſras vicinas adq'rere posset q'a p'fata ſra nimis arta erat: cōmuni q'silio ē p'dco Scotlando ⁊ Idonea uxore ej^o locut^o sū q'od p'fatā ſrā m' venderēt. Ne si forte scirēt q'od p'dict^o abbas illā emle vellet: nimis ei carā illā fecissent. Quapp' p'fatā ſrā a p'dco viro ⁊ uxore sua publice emi ⁊ cartā eoꝝ inde habui. S; pecuniā q'am solvi: p'dcs abbas m' t'didit de pecunia dom^o sue. Igitr ne aliq's meoꝝ possit aliq' tpre ī p'fata ſra aliq'd jus s' vendicare: p'fatā ſrā corā aldmanno ⁊ multis vicinis ⁊ pbis hōib^o p'dco abbi t'didi ⁊ domui de Walth de me ⁊ oib^o heredib^o meis q'etā īppetūū clamavi ⁊ cartā p'fati militis illis t'didi: ⁊ hāc meā cartā de negotio siē gestū fuit ī vitate illis feci, ⁊ sigillo meo gfirmavi. Salvo m' q'amdiu vixero hospicio in domo abbis: sicut carta test^o q'am habeo de abbe ⁊ gventu de Walth. Testib^o his, Jordano aldermāno. Alexando Spleng. Jordano de t^uri. Odone ⁊ Rað capllis. Constantino. Robto Blundo. Witto veisin. Johe fit Alexand Spleng. Martiñ ⁊ Rað frib^o illi^o. Syñ de Garschirche. Odone pistore. Gileb felt^orio. Sym^o textore. Rað oter. Galfrið piscario. Matho de Billingesgate. Witto fabro. Bernardo bedello.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 91.]

CARTA ALEXANDRI filii SP'LENG de q'dā parte GARDINI sui juxta domū
suā in LONDON'.

Oñib^o Sçe Mris eccie filiis Alexand fili^o Spleng salē. Notū sit oñib^o voꝝ q'od Ego intuitu London.
dī ⁊ p salute mea ⁊ meoꝝ gcessi ⁊ dedi dō ⁊ eccie S^e Cruci^e de Walth ⁊ canoñ reglaribz ibidē dō ſvientibz unā partē Gardini mei juxta domū meā in Londoniis. Sicut jā m'catū est q'am adq'sivi de Wot ⁊ de Drueline q^e jacet ad austrū ⁊ ad occidētē añ domū Witli filii Isabel q'am Witte Veisin tenet de illo. Quapp' volo q'od p'dci canonici p'fatā ſrā habeāt ⁊ teneāt de me ⁊ de hēdib^o meis in ppetuā elemosinā libe ⁊ q'ete pacifice ⁊ honorifice reddēdo ñ ⁊ hēdib^o meis unū q^ud^untē [quadrantem] ad pascha p oī ſreno ſvitiū. Et ego ⁊ hēdes mei defendem^o ⁊ adq'etabim^o ⁊ warantizabim^o pñōiatā ſrā p'fatis canoñ p p'dcm ſvitiū. Ita q'od ego nec hēdes mei ñflm ſviciū n' p'fatū q^ud^untē de pñōiatis canoñ de jādca ſra exiēge poſim^o. Ut aū hec donatio mea firma sit ⁊ stabilis: cartā meā p'dcis canoñ feci ⁊ illā sigillo meo gfirmavi. Testib^o his, Odoñ ⁊ Rað capeſt meis. Johe, Witto, Martino ⁊ T^uri filiis mei^s. Henř fit Eilwine. Brnardo le bedet. Rað le ferruñ. Odoñ pistore. Robino Albo. Gileb le feltrier. Thoma le corñ meſe. Matho de Billigesgate. Witto veisin. Galf^ud^o de Billingesgate.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 91 b.]

CARTA ALEXANDRI SP'LENG de terris q^us nobis gtulit in LONDONIIS.

Oñib^o sçe maſs eccie filiis ad q^os p'scs scēptū veñit: Alexand fili^o Spleng salm. Notū sit London.
voꝝ me dedisse et gcessisse et hac p'senti carta gfirmasse dō et eccie S^e Crucis de Walth et canoñ reglarib^o ibidē dō ſvictib^o p salute aīe mee et omniū antecessoꝝ meoꝝ et omniū fideliū cellaria que teneo de eccfia S^e Marie de Sudwrc p ij soſ et totā ſrā q^um Rað Pol tenet de me, q^e ſra durat x pedes vers^o occidētē de cellario, et Sopā q^um Galfrið tenet de me vſus oriētē de cellario, et ſrā q^um Jacob Grenefugel tenet de me, et ſrā q^um Theobald^o filius Yvonis tenet de me,

et ƿrā q^m Wiffrs faber tenet de me, et ƿrā B^onardi bedelli eū ƿra Robti de Benestede ad luminaria īveniēda ante S^e Marie altare ī ecclīa de Walth ī purā et ppetuā et libā elemosinā. Et eū donatiōe et gcessiōe p̄dictaz ƿraz do corp^o meū ad sepeliēdū cū k̄mis (carissimis) fr̄ib^o meis de Walth. Et ut hec donatio mea et gcessio mea firma sit p̄dc̄is canoñ de Walth et stabilis īppetū? cartā meā jād̄cis canoñ feci et sigillo meo gfirmavi. Testib^o his, Magistro Symōe cornubičsi. Odone capello S^e Andree. Helya fit Godardi. Rob de Enefeld. Johe Aperil. Phylippo Aguilun. Steph fil Edwardi.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 92.]

CYROGRAFU' GERVASII DE ALDERMANNESB'I de escābio ƿre ī LONDONIIS.

Sciāt p̄sentes et futi q^od hec ⁊ gvētio f̄ca īn ƿ Walfū ab̄bem et canoñ reġlares de Walth et Gervasiū de Aldermannesberi et Agnetē maḡterā ejus et Athelizā neptē ipi^o Agnetis sciīt q^od idē Gervasi^o et Agnes et Athel p̄nōiate clamaveṛt q̄ietā īppetū Abbi p̄deō et canoñ de Walth totā ƿrā q^m habuerūt īn domū Rob Blundi et domū Brunmāni faḡ et totū jus q^od habueṛt ī p̄fata ƿra p̄ decē m^areis et dimid argēti q^mas p̄faḡ abbas et canoñ eisdē feminis dedeṛt. Et p̄fat^o abbas et canoñ p̄nōiatā ƿrā adq̄letabūt annuatī vers^o dñm fundi de j. ḡ et q^md^mte. P̄lea jād̄cs abbas et canoñ de Walthā dedeṛt et gcesseṛt p̄nōiato G^ovas^o et Agneti et Ath p̄fatis ī exēbiū huj^o ƿre totā ƿrā q^m habueṛt ex al̄a parte vie q^e jacet īn ƿrā Waltē bruni q^m Gilleb feltrari^o tenet? et īn veneliā q^e ⁊ juxta domū Henṛ de Buhun, sciīt q̄ieq̄d abbas et canoñ sepefati ibidē habueṛt sine aliq^o retinēto, q^m G^ovas et Agnes et Athel et heredes Gervas annuatī adq̄etabūt ƿs^o dñm fundi, sciīt de .j. ḡ. Hāc etiam ƿrā p̄fate Agnes ⁊ Athel tenebūt oñib^o dieb^o vite sue. Et p^o mortē ea^o ƿra ista ī exēbiū sⁱ dedita remanebit G^ovas sepefato et hēdib^o suis ī feodo et hereditate libe q̄iete īteġe finabiliṛ. P̄ hoc aū exēbio p̄fat^o G. ⁊ hēdes sui warantizabūt p̄dcō abbi et canoñ de Walth totā p̄nōiatā ƿrā q^m p̄dcē femine tenuēṛt q^m oñs hōines et feminas. Et seped̄cs abbas et canoñ de Walth warātizabūt eidē G^ovas^o et hēdib^o suis q^m oñs hōies et feminas ƿrā p̄dcām sⁱ ī exēbiū donatā et gcessā. T^o Jord aldm. Rogo fit Alani. Joh fit H^olici. Symōe de Aldmāneb. Johe Espleng. Wiffo frē ej^o. Rob Blundo. Philipp fit Rogi. Gilleb felt^mrio. Matheo de Billingesgate. Godardo tan^m. Walfo frē suo. Raḡ Oṛ. Wiffo Veisin. Odone pistore. Wiffo fab^o. Galfr p̄iscario. B^onardo bedello. Edwardo efico.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 92.]

CYROG^mFUM ROB'TI CAMERARII de q^mtuor solidatis terre ī LONDONIIS.

Sciānt p̄sentes et futuri quod ego Robt^o camerari^o, fili^o Wiffr camerarii, dedi et gcessi et dimisi et p̄sēti carta mea gfirmavi deo et ecclīe S^e Crucis de Walth et canoñ ibidē d^oo ƿvientib^o q^mtuor solidatas q̄eti reddit^o ī parroch Sⁱ Benedicti ap̄d Garschirehe de ƿra q^m Godard^o m̄eeri^o et Rogi et Adeliza filia ej^odem Godardi de me tenuēṛt, sciīt q̄ieq̄d ibidē habui ī reb^o eūctis, p̄ amore d'i et salute aīe mee et aiab^o p̄ris et mat̄is mee et aīcessoz meoz ī ppetuā elemosinā, reddendo inde annuatī mⁱ vel hēdib^o meis p̄ oñi ƿvitio et exacciōe et p̄ oñib^o reb^o unā libm pipis sive vj ḡ. infra oct̄ pasche sine oī occasiōe. Sciendū itaq̄ etiam q^od ego Rob^o sepefat^o attornavi p̄nōiatū Rogum et Athelizā uxore ej^o filiā p̄dcē Godardi ac heredes suos? respōsuros p̄dc̄is canoñ

sup p̄dcīs .iiij. solidatis reddit⁹ finabili. Has aū .iiij. solidatas reddit⁹ ego Robt⁹ p̄noiat⁹ et heredes mei warātizabim⁹ et de oīb⁹ exactionib⁹ adq̄letabim⁹ canoñ p̄dcīs q̄t⁹ oīms hoīes et femīas et p oīa inde respōdebim⁹ p p̄dcēm censū scīt unā librā pipis v̄t vj d. Pro hac aū donaciōe et q̄cessiōe, et dimissiōe, et warantisione, et adq̄letatiōe, et p̄sentis carte mee q̄firmatiōe: p̄dcī canoñ dederūt m¹ i pleno Hustingo q̄d⁹ginta sol s̄lingoz i gersum. Testib⁹ hiis. Henr fit Ailwini. Jord de ȝri. Rob besant. Jukello t̄c vicecoñ. Johi fit Herliċ. Witto fit Sabeline. Witto Blundo. Petro fit Edwardi Blundi. Nich Duket. Gilliċ daco. Johe Burġ. Arnisio fit Alulfi. Samsonē de S' Martino. Witto Espleng. Henr Walensi. Galfr bonehaie. Rob. Mich filiis Rob Besanti. Edw⁹ do ctico.

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 90 b, 91 a.]

CYROGRAFU' CONSTANTINI filii ALULFI de q̄dā ȝra in LONDONIS.

Sciant p̄sētes ⁊ futuri q̄d ego q̄stantinus fili⁹ Alulfi q̄cessi ⁊ dimisi ⁊ hac mea carta q̄firmavi do ⁊ ecclie S' Crucis de Walth ⁊ canoñ reglarib⁹ ibidē do ȝvientib⁹ totā ȝrā q̄m tenui de monialib⁹ de Clerchenewelle in parrochia S' Marie de Hulla. Scīt ȝrā illā q̄ jacet in domū lapideā q̄m Walr p̄m⁹ abbas de Walth in ead parrochia edificavit, ⁊ in ȝrā Cecilie de Billingsgate, tenēdā in p̄petuū ⁊ finabili de me ⁊ heredib⁹ meis. Reddendo annuatī m¹ ⁊ heredib⁹ meis unā lib⁹m pipis vel vj d p oīi ȝvicio ad festū S' Mich ⁊ xvj d. q̄s p̄dcā ecclia de Walth reddet singlis annis p me ⁊ heredib⁹ meis p̄dcīs monialib⁹ de Clerkenewelle ad duo⁹ t̄mino⁹, scīt ad festū S' Mich viij d. ⁊ ad pascha viij d. p oīi ȝvicio. Et p hac q̄cessione ⁊ dimissiōe ⁊ carte mee q̄firmatiōe: dedit m¹ p̄fāt abbas Walr de pecunia ecclie sue de Walth vj m⁹rcas argēti. Et ido ego Cōstantin⁹ ⁊ heredes mei p̄dcām ȝrā p̄dcē ecclie de Walth ⁊ custū quē p̄dcā ecclia de Walth sup p̄dcām ȝrā ponet: q̄t⁹ oīms homines ⁊ feminas warantizare debem⁹: ⁊ warātizabim⁹. His testib⁹ Jordano Aldmāno. Jordañ de t̄ri. Alexandro filio Splēg. Witto fit Alulfi. Johe B⁹guignun. Gilliċ daco. Jord Peverel. Johe fit Alexand. Witto ⁊ M⁹rtino fr̄ib⁹ ej⁹. Galfrid fit Herebti. Rob Albo. Gilc̄to felt⁹rio. Ada felt⁹rio. Bernardo bedello. Witto vicino. Rob coco. Alwino carpētario. Odone pistore. Rað oter. Matho de Billigesgate. Galfrido de Billigesgate. Arnisio. Witto fab⁹. Helya fit Godardi. Godwino M⁹catore. Henrico Macun. Symōe de Garschirsche. Lewardo portitore. Rob de Whurne. Paulino m̄catore. Bernard de Belueiz. Alketino de Billingsgate. Stepho t̄ctore. Walpero libarūe. Rob de Waletone. Roġo de Garschirche. Witto vēditore de domo Odonis pistoris. ⁊ m̄tis aliis.

[Fo. 92 b.]

CARTA PHILIPPI de S'C'A BRIGIDA de quadam terra in LONDONIIS.

Oīib⁹ scē mat's ecclie filiis ad q̄s p̄sens sc̄ptā p̄venit: Philipp⁹ de S̄ca Brigida salm. Notū sit voſ oīib⁹ me dedisse et q̄cessisse et hac p̄senti carta q̄firmasse do et ecclie de Walth scē crucis et canoñ reglaribus ibidē do ȝviētib⁹ in p̄petuā elemosinā p salute mea et omniū meoz

(Here a leaf or more is wanting. At the bottom of the page Le Neve has written, "Cetera desiderantur adhuc.")

[Harl. MS. No. 391, fo. 120 b.]

De Capella in domo nra de BYLLYNGGESGAT, LONDON'.

De capella in
domo abb'is
Waltham apud
Billingsgate
Lond'.

Carta dñi Witti Londoñ Epi nob collata de Cantaria in capell Londoñ.

Witts Dī Gracia Londoñ Epc. Oibz fidelibz p̄sentem paginam visuris, eñnam in dño salm. Ad oīū volum⁹ noticiam pvenire Nos ad instanciam ditctoꝝ filioꝝ in xpo Riči dī grā Abbis de Walthm et ej⁹dē loci cōvent⁹ p assensum capitli nri de Sčo Paulo licenciā dedisse ppetuā, ip̄is et oībus successoribz suis canōicis tñ et nō aliis; celebrandi divina in capella q^a edificavūt in curia sua juñ eccliam Sçe Marie de la Hille in Londoñ. Salvo p oīa jure ep̄oali et jure Archidi Londoñ. Et salvo p oīa jure pochis ecclie, s. Sçe Marie de la Hylle. Et si contingat qd aliqua oblaçō in eadm capella ad man⁹ dci Abbis vt frat^m suoꝝ aut successoꝝ eoꝝdm obveñit: sine aliq⁹ q^a dicçōne retenciōe vt dilaçōe dce pochiali ecclie t^adeñ. Promisunt eñ dci abbs et convent de Walthm eidm pochiali ecclie oīmodam indempnitatē. Ita qd p̄textu p̄fate capelle: in nullo p eos dampnū vt juris sui senciet lesionem sive in retencione oblaçōnū ut dcm est: sive in admissione parochianoꝝ ej⁹dē poch ecclie: sive in aliq⁹ alio. Et in huj⁹ gcessiōis nre et pmissionis sue memoriā: hoc sc̄iptū eis fecim⁹: Et sigillo nro roboravim⁹. Hiis testibz, Mağro Robto de Watford decano Lond. Mağro Witto de Sçe Marie ecclia Archid Lond. Mağro Rogo nig⁹ Archid Colcestrie. Dño Pet⁹ de Sçe Mař ecclia Thesaurar Lond. Mağro Henř de Corhelle Cancellar Lond. Dño Rogo de Wygornia. Mağro Johē Withenğ. Mağro Ranulpho de Besaciis. Mağro Alexandro de Wereford Archid Setopesbiř. Mağro Philippo de Haddam. Mağro Johe de Storteford. Mağro Witto de Purf. Et aliis.

MINISTERS' ACCOUNT, 31 and 32 HENRY VIII.—COURT of AUGMENTATIONS.

Com' Essex.

Comp̄a oīū i singloꝝ ballioꝝ firmař et al officiař et ministř oīm i singloꝝ dñioꝝ man⁹ioꝝ terř i posseř quarūcumq tam tempař q^am sp̄uař in mañ dñi Regis existeñ Raçōe sursū Reddicē i voluntarie resignaçē diřs monasteř abbiat i p̄orař ac al domoꝝ religioř infra com̄ p̄dm modo suppř i dissoluť compuť existeñ, vidett. A Fest Sçi Michis Archi anno ř ř Henrici octavi dei grā Anglie i Fraunc Fidei Defensoř Dñi Hibnie ac in terř sup̄m capif Angliç ecclie xxxj^{mo} usq eundm Festū Sçi Michis Archi extunc pxiñ sequeñ anno regni eiusdm dñi regis xxxij^{do}. Scit p unū annū integrum. Ut inferius.

. (omission)
Terre i possessionē nup monasteř de Walth^ame ptiñ.

Offic Cott Redd inf^a } Compus Johis Highame Cott itm p tempus p̄dēm.
Civitātē London. }
Arreragia. Nuť q primus compus ipius nunc compuť.

Firma teñtoꝝ in pochia } Et de liij^a iiij^d de firma unius tenť cum pistrino cellař solař i cit s
bte Marie at Hull. } ptineñ in venett p̄dca in eadm pochia dimiss Thome Cleyton p indenť
dať xv^{to} die Julij anno xix^{no} ř ř H. viij^{vi} p fm̄io 1^o annoř a Fest Sçi Michis Archi adtunc p̄x

futuŕ sequē ſ plen^oie complend Redd ut sup^a sot ad iiij^{or} anni tñios in Civitate London usuales p annū repacōñ dēi tenē in oñib; ſ oñis firmarij put in eadē indentuŕ inf memoŕd huius officij verbatī irro^t plenius fr̄ Videſt in oñe tñmōi firme p dcis iiij^{or} annis infra tempus huius Compī ut sup^a hoc anno tñmini xiiij^{cio}. Et de viij^a de firma ij^{or} cellaŕ iaceñ in Lovelane scituaŕ sub magna cañla magni meſ voč Abbottē Inne scituaŕ in pochia p̄dca [de] Rogero Chaleno^a exeč ſ Interlined. assignē ſ p indenē daŕ xvij^o die Febr anno xxv^{to} r̄ r̄ H. viij^{vi} a Festo S̄ci Michis ad tunc uttio Sic. p̄tito usq; ad finem tñmini iiij^{xx} annoŕ extunc p̄ sequē ſ plen^oie complend solvend ad festum oīm S̄coŕ tñ p annū hoc anno termini ſ vij^{mo}. D' aliquo p̄fīc pvenieñ sive cresceñ de firma extioris p̄tē sive frontē magni meſ sive mansionis voč Abbotē Inne pochia p̄dca scituaŕ ſ existeñ p̄ quid^am scituanē versus placeam iñm videſt a rectoria iñm usq; p̄vam cañlam p̄x adiaceñ le chappell chamber tñ sup^a q^am subtus edificaŕ scit̄ quodd^am stabulum cañla iñt super januam mans p̄dicē edificaŕ deambulatorum atq; le shedde unacum p̄vič tenē subtus edificaŕ p̄x adiač nove conclavi iñm videſt infra tempus huius compī non ſ eo qd nup abbas ſ conventē dēi nup monaſt p scriptum suū indentaŕ supius specificaŕ dederunt ſ concess . . . p̄faŕ Rogero Chaleno^a Illegible. ſ Dorothee uxi eius Custodiam magni meſ sive mansionis p̄dce voč Abbottē Inne in pochia p̄dca jux^a Billingsgate H'end eisdm Rogero ſ Dorothee exeč ſ assignē suis p tñmō Illegible. supius in dca indenē recitaŕ. Et ulterius dederunt ſ concesserunt Rogero ſ Dorothee exeč ſ assignē ſ duranē tñmō p̄dco p custodia eiusdm mansionis totam dcam extiorem ptem sive frontem dce mansionis cum oñibus edific̄ solaŕ ſ aſ supius declaraŕ ſ spec̄ absq; aliquo inde reddend solvend. In qua quidem indenē conventē est qd dcs nup abbas ſ conventē ſ success omnes ſ oñiod repacōñ dce mansioni ſ cuſt inde p̄ceſt incumbentes de in tempus durante tñmō p̄dco sump̄t suis ppriis ſ expeñ sustentabunt supportabunt ſ manutenebunt; p̄lea qd dcs Rogerus ſ Dorothea exeč et assignē ſ oñia paviamēñ in vico sive placea iñm ac paviamēñ curie voč le courte yardē ac eciam escurač latrinaŕ inf^a eadē mansioñ existeñ de tempe in tempus duranē tñmō p̄dco sūptib; ſ ppriis ſ expeñ supportabunt, sustentabunt, ſ manutenebunt put in eadē indenē inter memoŕd huius offic̄ verbatī irro sup hunc compm examiŕ plenius liquet ſ apparet hoc anno tñmini ſ v . . . Nec ſ de aliquo p̄fīc pvenieñ sive cresceñ residuo domoŕ ſ Illegible. edificioŕ dce mansionis voč Abbottē Inne in sup^adca indenē reſvaŕ ſ except̄ scit̄ magne curie voč le court yeard / aule / capelle / cañle voč the chappell chamb̄r sursum edificaŕ simulcum dormi- trío coquina lardario cum p̄vo novo conclave p̄va cañla subtus p̄x adiač magne porte, necnon domoŕ carbonis imponend videſt infra tempus huius compī non ſ Eo qd dca cuŕ cañle ſ ceſa p̄miss sic in indenē p̄dca ut p̄fertur reſvaŕ ſ except̄ nū adhuc arrentanē qua račōne infra tempus p̄dcm on^oari non possunt. Et ideo memorand erga pximū compm, r̄c.

Sm^a li^s iiij^d c̄x.

XXXVI. *Excavations prosecuted by the Caerleon Archæological Association within the Walls of Caerwent in the Summer of 1855. By OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq. M.P. F.S.A.*

Read 6 December, 1855.

IN the course of last season I informed the Society of Antiquaries that it was my intention to make, on the part of the Caerleon Archæological Association, an examination of some of the remains of the ancient Roman buildings at Caerwent; and I promised to lay before them the result. In redemption of that promise, I have now the pleasure to communicate to the Society the particulars of the excavations which were made in the course of last summer, under the direction and superintendence of our excellent and able Secretary, J. Y. Akerman, Esq.; and I gladly take this opportunity of publicly tendering to him, on the part of the members of the Caerleon Association, and myself, our thanks for the very careful attention and unremitting assiduity with which he directed the operations. I must also tender my acknowledgments to Thomas Wakeman, Esq. who has made deep researches and large collections relative to the history of Monmouthshire; and who, at the Annual Meeting of the Caerleon Archæological Association, in August last, read a paper on the history of Caerwent, of which he has kindly allowed me to embody a large portion in this communication.

The identity of Caerwent, or Caergwent, with Venta Silurum, one of the stations on the Via Julia, mentioned in the 14th Iter of Antonine, has been uniformly admitted. Not so the actual course of the Via Julia, or the exact spot where the channel was crossed. The very able and valuable memoir, "On the British and Roman Roads communicating with Caerwent," by George Ormerod, Esq. F.S.A. which was read at the Bristol Meeting of the Archæological Institute, in 1851, and printed in the Bristol volume of its Proceedings, has discussed that subject at length, and in a most able and satisfactory manner; and to that I must refer all who may desire information upon that point. We have now only to do with Venta Silurum itself.



With regard to the name Venta it is very probably only the Latinised form of the British Gwent, the ancient name of the district which included the present county of Monmouth, and parts of those adjoining. No satisfactory etymology of this name Gwent has yet been given. Dr. Owen Pugh defines it a fair, open champaign region, deriving it from *gwen*—fair, white. How unsuited such a descriptive name is to the county of Monmouth, all who have been there will testify, though it might be applied to the flat country along the banks of the channel; including, perhaps, the immediate vicinity of Caerwent. Leland calls this country Venteland, and says it was divided into low, middle, and high; and the name Netherwent, as applied to the district in the vicinity of Caerwent, obtains to this day in the name of a neighbouring parish, St. Bride's Netherwent, probably to distinguish it from St. Bride's in Wentllwch, which is still the name of that tract of country lying between the rivers Usk and Rumney, as it was in the time of Leland. The name Gwent was probably the designation of this region till the formation of the English county of Monmouth, by statute in the reign of Henry VIII. The name Gwentllwch is said to have been derived from Gwynllyw, a chieftain of that country, and one of the Cambro-British saints who lived in the sixth century; and Leland states that "the Welshmen say it is no part of the three Wencelands;" but, from their contiguity, it is probable that the names Gwent, Gwynllyw, and Gwentllwch were derived from some common source.

Mr. Wakeman proposes another derivation. Winchester had the same name, with the addition of Belgarum; and there was also Venta Icenorum in Norfolk: and he suggests that, whatever may have been its real import, it may be traced in the names of the Venedi, or Wendi, a people of Germany, the Veneti in Italy, and the Veneti in Gaul, all Celtic tribes; and these latter occupied the country to the south of Armorica, on the western coast, and were a people powerful by sea. According to the Triads, the third social tribe which settled in Britain came from Armorica; may it not then be inferred that our Gwenti were a colony of those of the same name in that country? This is also a suggestion of Richard of Cirencester, in his account of Britain. If this were so, the preservation of their original appellation would be a strong confirmation of the truth of the tradition recorded in the Triad; and the Romans, finding Gwent the established name of the region, Latinised and gave it to the town which they built, distinguishing it by the name of the tribe which inhabited the country. In like manner the river Wysk, or Usk, though flowing through an extensive district, was made to give the name only to the town founded on it.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in a note to his Introduction to Giraldus's Itinerary, says, "The Silures, with their subordinate tribes the Dimetiae and Ordovices, possessed all the country west of the Severn and the Dee, under their capital Venta, or Caerwent," whence he seems to have inferred that a British town or fort existed here, upon the site of which the Roman station was afterwards founded; and others have fallen into the same error. There is, however, no authority whatever for the assertion that the Silures had a town called Caerwent at all, nor is the name of this capital anywhere mentioned. Moreover, the situation of this place does not at all agree with those chosen by the Britons for the sites of their strongholds, which were placed on lofty hills, where the nature of the ground rendered them difficult of access, or easily defended; whereas, it is just the situation which the Romans would have chosen for a *castrum stativum*, which might afterwards have become a town.

There are some British Caers in the neighbourhood, but the only one of sufficient magnitude to warrant the supposition that it may have been the capital, is the Gaer Vawr (the great fort), some three or four miles to the north; but it is impossible to say what its original name may have been.

Of the foundation or early history of Venta nothing is recorded, and the first mention of its name, and only the name, is in the 14th Iter of Antonine. The next is by Richard of Cirencester, who in the fourteenth century wrote his Itinerary and account of Britain. He says that the chief cities of the Silures were Sariconium (Ross), Gobaneum (Abergavenny), and Venta their capital; and adds, that a Roman colony possessed the city built on the Isca, and called it after that name. Again, "Fuerunt olim apud Britannos xcii. urbes; earum vero celebriores et præ reliquiis conspicuæ xxxii. scilicet municipia ii. coloniae viii. (among which is Isca), civitates Latio jure donatæ x. et stipendiariæ minorisque momenti xii." of which Venta Silurum heads the list. The *urbes stipendiariæ* were, I believe, those which paid their taxes in money and not in kind. It is curious that he should have styled Venta the capital of the country, when the more important town of Isca was so close: unless, indeed, being a *colonia*, he considered it rather in the light of a foreign than of a native place. All that we certainly know of the place is, that it was a Roman station; and the remains of the walls still visible, and the discoveries that have been made from time to time within the walls, and in the neighbourhood, prove, I think, beyond a doubt that it was a town of considerable importance, and, during the Roman occupation, second only to Caerleon. The area within the walls is about 40 acres, that of Caerleon being 50.

The Silures were reduced to subjection about the year 72 of the Christian era by Julius Frontinus, from whom the Via Julia is thought to have been named; and he very probably laid the foundation of Venta, which from what follows would seem to have been a town of some importance down to a period a little anterior to the Norman conquest—that is to say, above 900 years—during which long space, however, we know very little of its history.

Within a century after the extinction of the Roman power in Britain, this district formed part of the principality of Glamorgan, which was under the government of chieftains who claimed to be, and perhaps were, the direct descendants of the Silurian prince Caractacus. Gwent appears to have been under the rule of a junior branch of the same family; and the chieftains were generally, but according to our ideas improperly, termed Kings of Gwent. It is probable that these subreguli made Caerwent their capital. One of them, Caradoc ap Ynyr, King of Gwent, apparently in the early part of the sixth century, gave certain lands at Caerwent to his wife's nephew St. Tathay,* who here founded a school and monastery, in which, among others, our celebrated Gwentian saint Cadoc was educated. Tathay is also said to have been guardian and instructor of Maches, a sister of Cadoc, who, having been murdered by a Saxon mendicant, was esteemed a martyr; and the memory of both her and St. Tathay is preserved in the name of the neighbouring church, called in the records Llanvaches alias Llantatheys, although the latter name is now obsolete. St. Tathay is commemorated in the calendar on the 26th December. The situation of this church confirms in some measure the connection of St. Tathay with Caerwent. As to the school, it may be observed that all the great schools in Wales, Llancarvan, Llanilltyd, and the rest, were also monasteries, and the superiors styled abbots. A grant to Bishop Pater, recorded in the *Liber Landavensis* between the years 943 and 961, was witnessed, among others, by Goronwy of Gwrvod, abbot of the city of Gwent (*Guentoniæ urbis*). Two other grants to Bishop Gwrgan, between 972 and 982, were witnessed by Eidef, reader of the city of Gwent (*lector urbis Gwenti*). According to Ducange, the lector in monasteries was the professor or teacher of philosophy and theology. Both school and town were then existing, as the term “*urbs*” would hardly have been applied to a mere village—and this brings us down to within a century of the Conquest. A grant to Bishop Herwald in the time of Roger, son of William Fitz-Osborn, which fixes the date 1072, was witnessed by Jevan ap Rhun, priest of Caerwent. It was no longer styled

* See his life in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, and the *Liber Landavensis*, published by the Welsh Manuscript Society.

“urbs;” and it may be inferred that the town had been destroyed in the interval—most probably by the Saxon earl Harold, who in the reign of Edward the Confessor overran the greater part of Gwent eastward of the Usk, and commenced building a house at Portskewett, which was destroyed by Caradoc ap Griffith ap Rhydderch in or about the year 1056: this we learn from the Saxon Chronicle. At the time of Domesday survey, Beli Hardd ap Brochvael was lord of Caerwent. He is mentioned in that document as Beluard de Carven, and held half a carucate of land of the king, but paid nothing. There is no mention of a town, and the small quantity of land which he held leads to the inference that Beli was much reduced in state and influence; and the erection of Chepstow Castle and lordship at this period would prevent Caerwent ever again rising into importance. His son Owen ap Beli seems to have been the last Welsh lord of Caerwent: he was living in the reign of Henry I. In the same reign, Walter Fitz Richard de Clare is styled in Dugdale Lord of Caerwent—no doubt on some good authority; though Mr. Wakeman has failed to find anything in the records to confirm it. The Anglo-Norman Barons were not over-scrupulous in ejecting Welsh proprietors on very slight pretences. Whether in this instance Owen was so ejected, or received an equivalent elsewhere in exchange, is uncertain: he removed, however, into Somersetshire, where he and his descendants for many generations, under the name of De Carwent, and latterly Carent, held lands under the Clares and their successors, lords of Chepstow.

The earliest subinfeudists of Caerwent mentioned in the records were the Lucys, who were seated here in the reign of King John.* In the beginning of the sixteenth century the manor belonged to a branch of the Kemeys family, who were the last resident proprietors. What was the manor-house is about a quarter of a mile on the Chepstow road, and now called Slough or Slow, an English corruption of Islaw Gwent, that is, the lower side of the town of Gwent. The manor in some documents is called Slough, alias Caerwent, and the Kemeys are described in deeds as of Islaw Gwent, or Slow. After the Kemeys it was the property of the family of Williams of Llangibby, and in 1701 was sold by Sir John Williams to John Jeffereys, Esq. of London, who in 1732 sold it to Admiral Matthews, whose grandson Thomas sold it in 1782 to Sir Mark Wood, Bart.: from him it was purchased by the father of the present proprietor, the

* The manor of Caerwent is a mesne manor holden of the lords of Gwentllwch by the service of one knight's fee, but it now includes Maesgwenith, holden of the lords of Strigul by half a knight's fee. Both belonged to the Lucys, and have always gone together.

Rev. Freke Lewis, to whom I am much indebted for permission to make the excavations.^a

Caerwent is situated on a gentle rise in the middle of a broad valley, bounded on the north and south by ranges of low hills. The walls inclose an area of about 40 acres in the form of a parallelogram, in round numbers about 500 yards long by 400 wide. By actual measurement the north wall is 507, the south 505, the east 390, and the west 409 yards: the position N.W. and S.E., the angles being nearly in the direction of the four cardinal points. The Via Julia, now the turnpike road from Chepstow to Newport, passes through the middle of it from east to west, dividing it into two equal parts. A brook, called the Troggy in the higher part of its course, but here in this lower part the Nedern, flows by on the south side, about a furlong distant, and after a course of three miles falls into the Bristol Channel at Caldicot Pill. This brook is generally dry in summer.

The earliest descriptive account we have is in Leland, who may have visited it about 1545. He says, " Cairgwent in Base Venteland is iiii. miles from Chepstow, in the way to Cairlion. It was sum tyme a fair and a large cyte; the places where the iiii. gates was yet appear, and the most part of the wall yet standeth, but al to-minished and torne. In the lower part of the wall toward a lytle valey standeth yet the ruine of a stronge Within and about the waulle now be a xvi. or xvii. small houses for husbondmen, of a new making, and a parish church of S. Stephen. In the towne yet appear pavements of the old streets, and in digging they find foundation of great brykes, tessellata pavimenta et numismata argentea simul et ærea. A great lykelihood is that when Cairgwent began to decay, then began Chepstow to flourish." The next mention is in Camden's *Britannia*, the first edition of which was printed in 1586. "Several do affirm, and not without reason, that Chepstow had its rise not many ages past from the ancient city Venta, which flourished about four miles from hence, in the time of Antoninus, who calls it Venta Silurum, as if it were their chief city, which name neither arms nor time have been able to consume, for at this day it is called Caerwent, or the city Venta; but the city itself is so much destroyed by the one and the other that it only appears to have once been, from the ruinous walls, the chequered pavements, and the Roman coins. . . . The city took up about a mile in circumference; on the south side a considerable part of the wall is yet remaining, and more than the ruins of three bastions. What repute it had heretofore we may gather from hence, that, before the name of Monmouth was heard of, this whole country was called Gwent, Wenset, or Wentsland. More-

^a For these details of the history I am chiefly indebted to my friend Mr. Wakeman.

over, we read in the life of Tathaius, a British saint (*Lib. Landavensis*), it was formerly an academy, or place dedicated to literature, which this same Tathaius governed with great commendation; and also furnished a church there in the reign of king Cradoc ap Ynyr, who invited him here from the hermitage."

The remains of the walls are still fine even in their ruined state, the original fosse is still clearly seen on the northern and western and eastern sides, and the wall exists nearly all round the inclosure.

The most perfect portion is, however, on the south side, and near the south-east angle is about 25 feet in height. Much of the facing of the wall, especially along the base where it is within easy reach, has been removed for building purposes, thus showing the internal masonry, which is a kind of herring-bone work; the stones are flat, of irregular sizes, and are set obliquely and bedded in the mortar. On the south side are still seen the remains of the three bastions, or octagonal turrets, projecting from the wall: one has almost disappeared, and a recent clearance of rubbish has revealed the remains of a fourth, 175 feet eastward of the other three, thus showing that the south wall was defended by four towers along its face, nearly equidistant from each other. These were not part of the original wall, but later additions built up against it. According to Roy, the generality of Roman stations in Britain seem to have been originally constructed without turrets at the angles, or in the intermediate spaces of the walls, though the corners of the inclosure were generally rounded, as is the case here. This seems to argue in favour of the early foundation of Venta, and its being strengthened at a later period by these turrets or buttress-towers being built up against it.

There are also visible the bonding-courses of thin layers of old red sandstone, probably in imitation of brick, though now the colour is the same as the other stone. In this south wall, which is yet called the port wall, it is said that mooring rings were fixed for the convenience of vessels which came up the river to some pool or basin beneath the walls. No traces of such rings have ever been found or recorded to have existed, nor is there the least vestige of such basin or canal; besides which, the Nedern is generally dry in summer; and at a short distance outside the south wall, many years ago, a very large pit was found, full of black soil, and appearing as though it had been the cesspool for the drains on that side of the town.

Within the inclosure the ground is nearly on a level with the top of the wall; it seems, therefore, that what was excavated in making the foss was thrown up inside the wall, and on the south side it looks as if the gentle slope had been cut

away, and, by throwing up the soil so removed inside the wall, increased the height within, and gave greater depth outside the wall. Seyer, in his History of Bristol, gives an account of Caerwent, from some observations made in 1786, which state that "the eastern gateway was not entirely obliterated. On the left, as you enter, the quoin to which the gate was hung still remains." And Coxe, when he visited it in 1801, says that "the remains of the masonry of the eastern gate were still visible, and that a stone, to which one of the hinges was attached, stands at the door of a public house, and was used as a horse-block:" these have, however, all long disappeared.

The following list will afford an idea of the number of interesting remains existing, or at one time existing, within the walls of Caerwent. The localities are indicated by corresponding figures on the map:—

1. Remains of tessellated pavement, disturbed and partly destroyed.
2. Remains of tessellated pavement.
3. Remains of two tessellated pavements, in great part destroyed.
4. Well of Roman construction.
5. Remains of a ruined hypocaust, with sandstone pillars.
6. Two semicircular walls, apparently parts of towers.
7. The site from which a tessellated pavement was removed by the late Bishop of Llandaff. It was discovered by accident in digging the foundations of a barn, which now occupies the spot.
8. Sawpit, in digging which were found the base silver coins, exhibited by the Rev. Macdonald Steel to the Soc. Antiq.: see Proceedings, vol. ii. p. 107.
9. A mortuary urn was found here by a labourer digging in his garden. It is now in the museum at Caerleon.
- 10, 11. Remains of buildings excavated in July, 1855.
12. The site of the fine pavement discovered in 1777.
13. Well, unexamined.
14. The mouth of a drain was discovered here, running from east to west, in building the vicarage in 1846.
15. Cesspool or rubbish-pit, about 8 feet deep, laid open when the vicarage was built.
16. When the vicarage was built, three coffins, formed of rough slabs, were found here; one contained three crania of persons of different ages.
17. Remains of foundations, with traces of tessellated pavements.
18. The ground is slightly raised here, the soil very black, and tesserae have been turned up.

19. The ancient south aisle of the church covered this spot. When the earth of the churchyard was lowered, the grave of an ecclesiastic was discovered, with a chalice and paten on the breast. The churchyard appears to be full of Roman remains. The foundations of buildings may be traced in the S.W. corner. Roman coins have been frequently turned up.

20. This spot was once a common field. On planting an orchard there some years ago, the ground was found to be crammed with human remains.

21. The pound. In digging the foundation for the wall, three stone steps were discovered here.

22. Traces of foundations were met with when a barn was built on this spot.

23. Anciently a cross stood here.

24. Remains of the foundations of several rooms.

Of the church I shall not at present speak, which, though evidently built with stones from the more ancient structures (in many of which the lewis holes are still visible, such stones being in places and positions where no such instruments would have been used to raise them), is mediæval. There are, however, two arches that some persons have considered Roman, though I must confess that I entertain some doubts. A few stones and remains have been found in the churchyard, and the soil is said to be very black, as though it were the ancient cemetery. That, however, may well be the case if it has only been the Christian burial-ground for so many centuries. There are no very ancient tombstones, nor has it been discovered where the cemetery was in the time of the Roman occupation; and, strange to say, only one inscribed stone has ever been discovered here, and no one knows where it was found, or what has become of it. Seyer records the fact in the following words: "An inscription on a stone dug up here was—'Julia esseunda vixit annos xxxv.'" In November, 1854, however, a Roman grave was discovered by some men who were cutting deep drains in a field by the side of the road leading to Newport, about a quarter of a mile from the walls. The circumstances of this grave were peculiar, and I examined it carefully; but there was no inscription nor anything calculated to give a clue to the date, or the individual interred.

Many tessellated pavements are recorded to have been discovered at Caerwent and its neighbourhood, perhaps more than in any other spot. Leland and Camden mention them generally as common features of the place.

Gibson, in his *Additions to Camden*, says that "in the year 1689 there were three chequered pavements discovered in a garden here (Fr. Ridley's), which being in frosty weather exposed to the open air, upon the thaw the cement was

dissolved, and this valuable antiquity utterly lost. In one of these pavements, as the owner relates, were delineated several flowers, which he compared to roses, tulips, and flowers-de-luce, and at each of the four corners a crown, and a peacock holding a snake in his bill and treading it under his foot. Another had a figure of a man in armour from the breast upwards. There were also imperial heads and some other variety of figures, which, had they been preserved, might have been instructive as well as diverting to the curious in the study of antiquities." Again, "In the year 1693, one Charles Kinton showed me part of a Roman brick pavement in his yard; the bricks were somewhat above a foot long, nine inches broad, and an inch and a half thick—all marked thus σ ."

Caerwent seems soon to have attracted the attention of Fellows of this Society, and in the early volumes of the *Archæologia* are several notices respecting it.

In 1763 (Vol. II.) the Society was informed, that in an orchard adjoining the street was discovered, a few years previously, "the remnant of a tessellated pavement, about a yard over. The colours are lively enough, but the figure of a dog or other animal under a tree very ill expressed."

In 1775 John Strange, Esq., F.S.A., communicated a long paper (printed in Vol. V.), in which he describes another pavement, which is accompanied by an engraving; it was in a cellar or out-house in an orchard belonging to Mrs. Williams, on which was still preserved part of a vase and a bird, and on which there had been figures of a lion, a tiger, and a stag.

He also communicated, in 1778, a description of the beautiful pavement which had been discovered the previous year, of which, fortunately, an accurate coloured drawing has been preserved; and Seyer tells us that the side wall of the chamber was plastered smooth and painted red. This chamber and pavement were roofed in with a view to their preservation, but being neglected, and becoming decayed, the tiles were taken from the roof to repair another building, and the pavement, from exposure to the weather, and the depredations of collectors, soon utterly perished, and the walls which inclosed it alone remain.

In a field called the Cherry Orchard, about half a mile westward of Caerwent, some Roman remains of great interest were discovered about twenty-five years ago. One very handsome tessellated pavement was destroyed by children, and a large portion of another pavement was subsequently found, but immediately covered up as the only means of preservation. And a few years ago a portion of another pavement was discovered in a cottage garden, a few inches below the surface; there was nothing remarkable in its pattern or quality, and, being unprotected, it was soon destroyed.

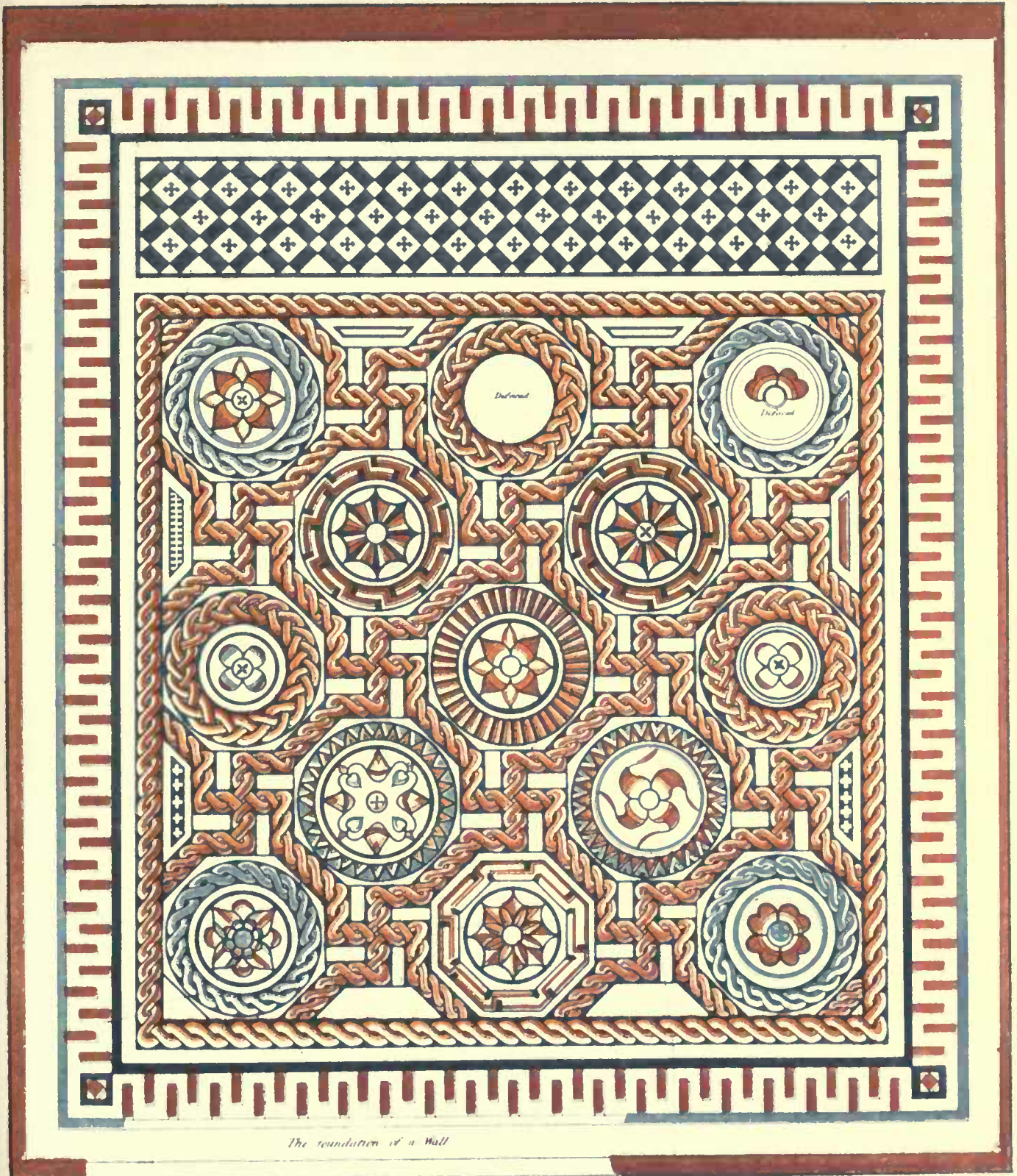
Great quantities of Roman coins have from time immemorial been found here, in such abundance, indeed, that one would think they had been sown broadcast, for the earth is hardly ever moved without some being turned up. They are chiefly, if not entirely, of the Lower Empire, and many of base metal. We find in Bishop Gibson's enlarged edition of Camden, in 1722, that a collection of these coins had been made by George Kemeys, Esq. of Llanvair, and that they were chiefly of Valerianus, Gallienus, Probus, Dioclesianus, Constantius Chlorus, Constantinus Magnus, Julius Crispus, Constans, and both Valentinians. "In that collection was one adulterated coin of Antoninus Pius, which seems to have been counterfeited, not of late but anciently, when that emperor's coins were current money; it is a brass piece, of the bigness of a denarius, covered with a very thin leaf of silver, which when rubbed off the letters disappear." Nothing is known as to what became of this collection, and the Kemeys family no longer exists here.

I have here endeavoured to extract from all the previous accounts of Caerwent, as well as from other sources, every particular relating to its history and locality, and to arrange the information thus collected, so as to form a complete history of the place, as an introduction to the account of the recent excavations, the particulars of which I will now proceed to detail.

The south-east corner of the inclosure within the walls is occupied by an orchard belonging to a large old farm-house, the largest in the place, and called, in the old parish-books of the last century, Ty Mawr, and the *Great House*.^a This is occupied by Mr. George Dowle, to whom we are much indebted for his aid in our works, this orchard being the scene of our operations. At the south-east angle of the wall, within the orchard, is a lofty mound, from which could have been obtained a view of some miles of the roads in the direction of the Passage and Chepstow. In this orchard are several rough mounds, marking the remains of ancient buildings, and it was by one of these that the beautiful pavement was discovered in 1777. The mound where we commenced our operations was a little to the north-east of this, and we were induced to begin here by an opening which had long before been broken into the chamber of a hypocaust.

This building had to all appearance been a Roman villa, or dwelling-house, within the walls; it is situated near the eastern wall, and must have been a house of some extent. A large portion of it on all sides had, to use the provincial term, been "mooted up," and carried away, for the sake of the stone for building

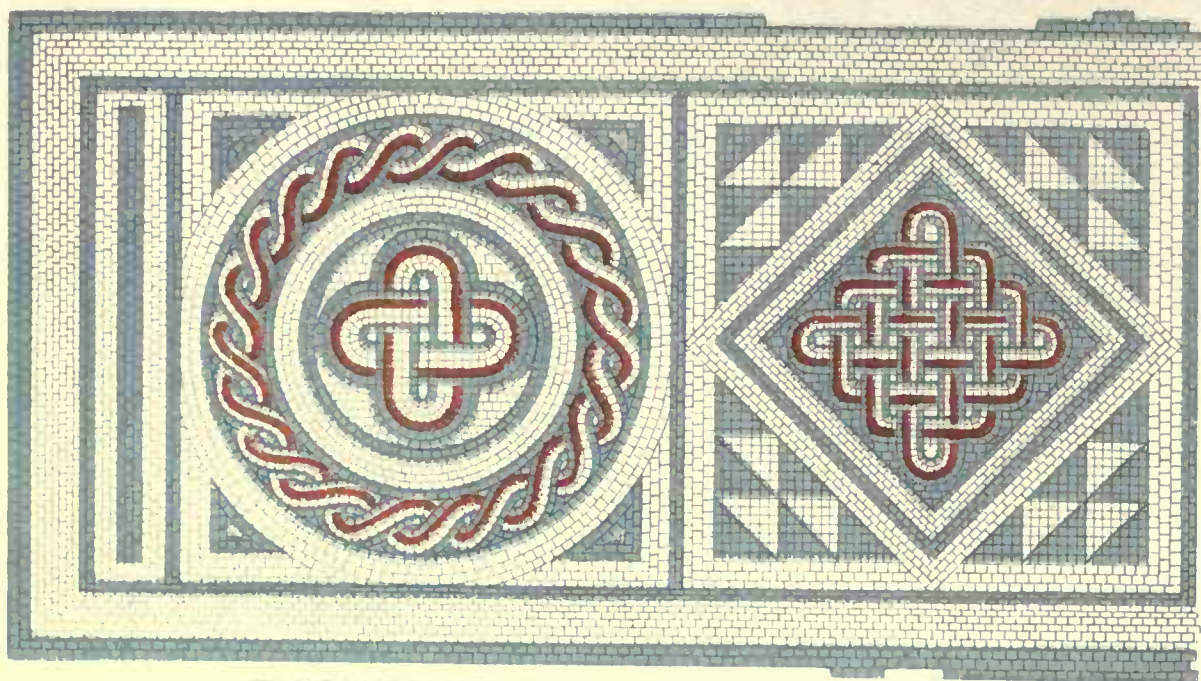
^a As Leland does not mention any large house, this building is probably not much earlier than the beginning of the last century.



J. D. 1788

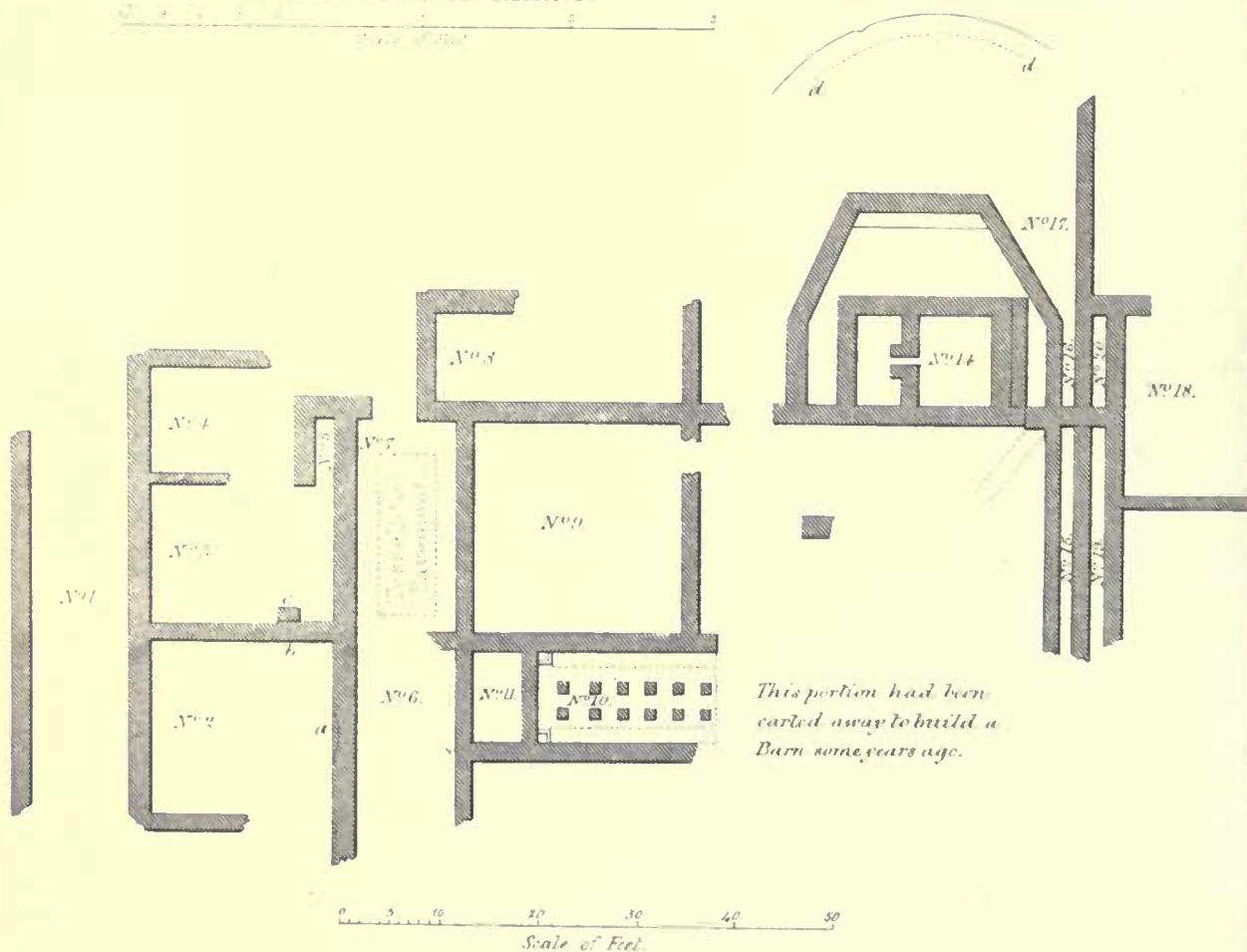
TESSELLATED PAVEMENT.
discovered February 1777, at Caerwent

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1777.



TRANSLATED PAVEMENT.

Scale of Feet



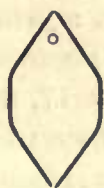
GROUND PLAN of a ROMAN BUILDING at CAERWENT.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23^d April, 1856

J. Baskin, b2h.

purposes, and it is not improbable that the Great House and its offices were built out of these ruins. The ground-plan No. 2 will give an idea of the walls and the arrangement of the chambers which we excavated. The arrangement of all the Romano-British villas and houses which I have seen is, I must confess, to me very unintelligible, and seems to bear no relation to the plans of Roman villas in Italy. I shall not therefore attempt to assign any use to the different apartments; one thing was however quite clear, that this house had undergone various alterations, and had had some additions made to it. The walls were for the most part, where the chambers were cleared, from 4 to 6 feet high, and 2 feet thick, and the mass of soil to be removed therefore was very considerable.

The ground first opened was the area marked 10 in the plan, which had long been known to cover a hypocaust. It was filled up with earth mixed with numerous large stones, which about a foot above the surface of the floor were found mingled with broken concrete, mortar, fragments of stucco, with fragments of common pottery, oyster and mussel shells, the bones of the ox, sheep, and pig, and large flat-headed iron nails. In the north-east corner was discovered a bronze armilla, and another object of the same metal, now exhibited. The walls of this room had been covered with a reddish or salmon-coloured stucco, and the floor consisted of a layer of concrete, about three inches thick, resting on slabs of sandstone, which formed the roof of the hypocaust beneath, and were supported in the middle on two rows of roughly squared sandstone pillars, resting at the sides on two dwarf walls. In each angle of this chamber was fixed a square upright flue-tile, communicating with the hypocaust. The small area at the end of this chamber, No. 11, was next cleared. In one corner was discovered the upper portion of a stone quern, the lip of a glass vessel, fragments of pottery,



a bronze stylus, and several roofing tiles, of the form of an elongated hexagon, made of the slaty sandstone of the district called tile-stone; they at once explained the meaning of the flat-headed nails already noticed, some of them being still fixed in these tiles. Further excavation showed that the præfurnium of the hypocaust was at this end.

The bottom of this small chamber, which was about 5 feet by 10, was on a level with the floor of the hypocaust; it therefore resembled a deep pit, being about 6 feet below the present top of the walls. Here the fuel must have been kept; but there was no doorway, and the attendant who had charge of the fire could only have had access by means of wooden steps or ladders. The mouth of the præfurnium was not arched, but was a pseudo arch, formed with horizontal overlapping stones. In the area No. 6 was the same accumulation of earth and stones and concrete, with traces of a ruined tessellated pavement.

In No. 2 was the same accumulation of earth and stones, to the depth of 6 feet. In the south wall, at *a*, was a shallow recess, resembling a rough sort of open fireplace, marked by fire, with traces of ashes, bones, and fragments of copper slag. At *b* a doorway had been walled up. Here were also found a large iron bar, 2 feet 3 inches long; a piece of iron, 9 inches long, like a skewer, with a ring at one end; and some small, much-worn, coins of Magnentius and Valentinianus. In the north-east corner of this chamber were also found the bronze chain of twisted links, a bronze armilla of small size, a bronze stylus, and a minute silver hook. The floor of this chamber was found to be of stone and concrete, to the depth of 3 feet. No. 1 was portion of an area or passage between two parallel walls, probably outside the building. No. 4 was filled with large hewn stones to the depth of 6 feet, rendering the work more like the labour of a quarry, the heap being overgrown with bushes and stumps of trees. Here was found a well preserved silver coin of the Emperor Julian, A.D. 360.

No. 3 presented no remarkable feature save the inexplicable recess. No. 5, at *c*, was a projecting block of stone, about 12 inches high.

No. 8 had clearly been an addition made at some time to the building, and in a corner of it were found coins of third brass of Gallienus, Tetricus, Constantine, Constans, Carausius, and Arcadius.

In No. 9 were found two bone pins, the bowl of a spoon of some mixed metal, a spindle-whirl formed of a disc of red ware, a small bronze finger-ring; a bronze armilla, and twenty-eight small brass coins, principally of Tetricus, Constantine, and Valentinian.

On continuing the excavations towards the south, the foundations of two buildings, one within the other, were soon disclosed, the forms of which are given in figures 12, 13, 14; the whole appeared to have been inclosed within a semi-circular area, indicated by a dotted line, *d d*; the wall, however, had been removed, though the foundation of concrete remained. In clearing the space at 17, the ground had been disturbed to the depth of 8 or 9 feet, and had in fact been used as a deposit for rubbish, among which were found a coin of Gallienus, a bone bodkin or needle, a fragment of a bowl of Samian ware, fragments of an amphora, and coarse black pottery; bones, horns, and teeth of animals; the bottom of a cup of Samian ware, with the potter's mark *PRIMA*, and one of the sides of a knife-handle of bone. The walls of all these buildings, from 12 to 20, had all been razed to the ground, and nothing above the foundations remained, and these showed evident signs of additions and alterations having been made to the original structure; at 13 there was some trace of what seemed a *præfurnium*; but it is in vain to conjecture the uses of these small, curiously arranged apartments and

parallel walls. In 13 and 14, however, were found the fragments of a prettily ornamented vessel of unusually pellucid glass, bones of animals, shells of whelks, bodkins, some pins and spindle-whirls, and fragments of stucco of various colours. From the frequency of the bodkins, pins, and spindle-whirls in these chambers, we may fairly conjecture that these were the apartments appropriated to the females of the family.

No. 7 and No. 2, the continuation of it, appear to have been a passage going through the house, but none of the apartments seem to have opened into it. At No. 7, however, was discovered a fine tessellated pavement. It was covered to a considerable depth with the stucco and plaster, as if of the walls and ceiling, on the removal of which it was found to be entire, with a slight depression in one part. It is divided into four compartments, each 4 feet square: two of these contain circles formed by a bold twisted border, within plain bands, having a fret in the centre; and the other two contain a smaller square, set transversely, within which is a large reticulated fret, the spandrels being filled with a kind of chequer-work; the colours are bluish-grey, yellow, white, and red, and the tesserae are composed of the usual materials. The space between the coloured pavement and the walls was filled in with large coarse tesserae of dark sandstone. The pavement has been carefully taken up and removed to the museum at Caerleon, where it will be preserved. It is curious that, though the walls of most of these apartments are 5 and 6 feet high and more, there is no trace of any windows. How then were the rooms lighted? If by windows, they must have been very high above the floors, and there could have been no looking out; nor is it exactly clear how they could have obtained light, for some of the rooms seem to have had no external wall. From the various articles found here, it would seem as if this building had gone to decay or been destroyed during, or immediately after, the Roman occupation. There is no trace of fire: it was, therefore, not destroyed by burning. No article or utensil of later date than Roman has been found, nor is there any appearance of its having been inhabited or used in the mediæval period, except perhaps as a stone-quarry, else these Roman bronze articles could hardly have remained in the apartments. It is difficult to reconcile these facts with the idea of Caerwent having been a place of such importance between the departure of the Romans and the Conquest, unless, indeed, it sank to ruins after their departure, and was subsequently revived. The fact of there being no remains of intermediate buildings between the Roman stone structures and the modern cottages and houses may be easily accounted for, if we suppose that the Britons constructed their buildings of timber, which was in fact most probably the case, as the whole

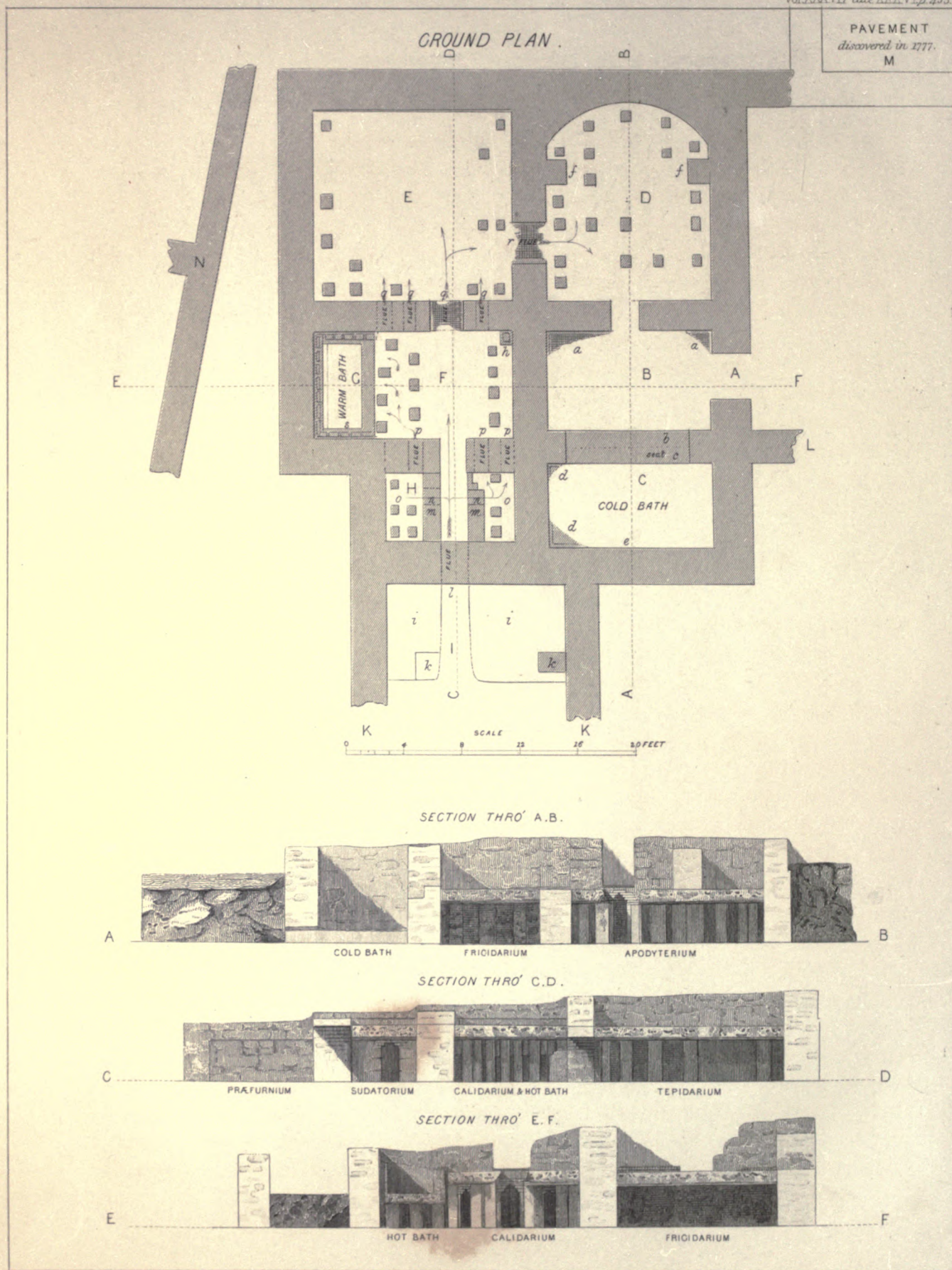
country must at that time have been nearly covered with forests; and, even at this day, there are very extensive tracts of wood covering many of the hills.

We will now proceed to the most interesting portion of our works, namely, the Baths.

The Baths.

Close adjoining the south-west corner of the wall, inclosing the tessellated pavement which was discovered in 1777, was a rough heap or mound indicating the remains of former buildings. It was thought desirable to examine these, and excavation was commenced at the south side of the mound. A wall of very solid construction was discovered, and within this, at the depth of 5 feet, the men arrived at the floor of a hypocaust. Some of the pillars, which were formed of sandstone, had been displaced, and amongst them there was a quantity of wood-ashes, with masses of slag. This excavation was proceeded with, and there was ultimately uncovered a small block of building, 31 feet by 34, exhibiting a complete set of Roman baths, perhaps the most perfect exemplification of a private suite of baths attached to a dwelling-house yet brought to light. I say private baths, for I think they are on too small a scale to have belonged to any public establishment, though they contain, as I think I shall be able to show, all the requisite apartments, and exhibit the entire economy of Roman baths, both with regard to the mode of heating them as well as the general arrangement of the chambers, more completely than any others that I know, excepting the *Thermæ* at Pompeii.

Although it is not necessary here to go into the general question of Roman baths, it may be stated on the authority of various ancient writers, illustrated by the discoveries at Pompeii, that the essential apartments of a Roman bath were—the *frigidarium*, with the *piscina* or cold-water tank; the *apodyterium*, or dressing-room, which was slightly warmed; the *tepidarium*, a moderately heated chamber, where the processes of anointing, perfuming, shaving, and other such operations were performed when there were no apartments specially provided for them, which was only the case in the very large public establishments; the *caldarium*, a strongly heated chamber with a *calida piscina*, or hot-water bath; and lastly, the *sudatorium*, a chamber raised to a high temperature with a dry heat. All these apartments I think our baths exhibit arranged in the most compact manner. This building covers an area 31 feet by 34; and by reference to the ground-plan the arrangements of the various apartments will



A. B. 1856 del.

J. B. 1856 sc.

ROMAN BATHS. CAERWENT.

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be understood, whilst the sections will show the relative heights and depths of the floors, hypocausts, and bathing-tanks.

A, Entrance to the baths.

B, Frigidarium, having on one side

C, The Piscina, or cold-water bath.

D, The Apodyterium.

E, Tepidarium.

F, The Caldarium, with

G, The Calida Piscina, or hot-water bath.

H, The Sudatorium, close to

I, The Præfurnium, where the fire was made by which the hypocausts beneath the different chambers were heated.

K, Walls, probably forming portion of the court-yard inclosing the Præfurnium.

L, Portion of a Wall, which may have been part of a court or a chamber.

M, Corner of the area of the Pavement discovered in 1777.

N, Piece of Wall, which may have been part of some earlier building.

The entrance-doorway to these baths was at A; the walls were 2 feet 6 inches thick, and the doorways 2 feet 6 inches wide: there is nothing to indicate whether it opened from a court-yard or a room, but it seems probable that the chamber of the pavement of 1777 opened into the same place. The doorway entered at once into the Frigidarium, a chamber 10 feet 6 by 6 feet 6; there was no hypocaust beneath it, it was therefore not warmed. The floor had been covered with a tessellated pavement, portions of which (*aa*), composed of coarse tesserae of dark reddish sandstone, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch square, remained in the north-east and north-west corners; the central part of the pavement had been destroyed, but it was probably not of an ornamental character, as no small tesserae were found. In the middle of this room was a heap of stones mixed with clay, which had undergone the action of fire. At the south side of this chamber was the cold bath, a tank 10 feet 6 inches long, 5 feet 6 inches wide, and 3 feet deep, extending the entire width of the room, and sunk down below the floor. At the edge of the tank a dwarf wall (*b*) rose about nine inches above the pavement of the room, and served as the back of a seat (*c*), which was formed in the thickness of the wall along the tank, for the convenience of the bathers. This bath was found in a very perfect state; it was lined with red stucco, which remained uninjured. It had been paved at the bottom with flag-stones bedded in concrete, but these had been removed, with the exception of two fragments at the corners (*dd*). The stucco all round the bottom of the bath was moulded into a quarter round,

 of two inches wide, forming a kind of skirting, and this was the case round the floors of all the doorways and apartments. At the bottom of the bath was a hole (*e*) through the wall, by which the water was let off. On examining the exterior of the wall there was no drain found; the external aperture was probably on the then level of the ground, and the water flowed away by an open gutter.

The Apodyterium (D), the dressing-room to the baths, was entered from the frigidarium by a doorway in the centre of the wall. It is 10 feet 6 inches wide by 13 feet 3 inches in its entire length. The end of the room opposite the door of entrance terminates in a segment of a circle, which was formed into an alcove by two projecting piers. The floor had been supported on square sandstone pillars above the hypocaust by which it was warmed, as Pliny describes the apodyterium of his bath to have been. This apartment had once been ornamented with a tessellated pavement, as many fragments were found. Of the hypocaust a description will be given when we trace the course of the flues.

A doorway, 2 feet 6 inches wide, on the sill of which the tesserae of sandstone which formed the pavement still remain, opens into the Tepidarium E, a room, as we shall see, of a warmer temperature than the last: its dimensions were 12 feet by 13. The tessellated pavement with which it had been floored, and beneath which there had been a hypocaust, was utterly destroyed by the roots of a large apple-tree which was growing there, though some of the pillars remained *in situ*. Here were found two bone hair-pins, a bronze ring, and coins of Helena, Constantine, and Tetricus.

The Caldarium, F, is entered from the tepidarium by a doorway 2 feet 6 inches wide, on the sill of which, as in the last, the coarse sandstone tesserae still remain, and in the angle of junction of the upright jamb with this pavement is a quarter-round skirting of stucco. This caldarium, which is 13 feet long by 7 feet 6 inches wide, is the most curious and interesting of all the chambers, for here is the warm-water bath, G, which, on the rubbish being cleared away, was found as it originally existed. This is a tank, 6 feet by 3 feet, sunk in the floor at the west end of the room, and its depth was 2 feet. The whole chamber was heated by a hypocaust, which extends underneath the bath, three sides of which are surrounded by upright flues proceeding from it. These flues at the two ends of the bath are formed with four of the usual square flue-tile pipes, with  small lateral openings communicating with each other, whilst at the side half-tiles are employed. These tiles are fastened to the wall by T headed nails, some of which yet remain *in situ*,

performing their office. The tank itself is formed by a thick lining of fine concrete or stucco, of a red colour, attached to these tiles. The roof of the hypocaust, underneath the bath, consists of large red tiles, supported on stone pillars, and the bottom of the bath itself of one large paving-slab, set in concrete, having the usual quarter-round skirting. On the south end of the bath, on the level of the bottom, is the hole (*g*) by which the water was let out. This hole, which passed between the flue-tiles, seems at one time to have leaked, and to have been clumsily repaired by a large rough patch of the stucco.

The edge of the bath towards the room is about 4 inches higher than the sill of the entrance-door; a portion of it, 8 inches in width, remains. No tesserae were found here; the floor was therefore probably of the same red concrete or stucco as the bath, and, indeed, might have been a continuation, having a gradual slope towards the tank, in which case the room must have been entered by a step. This stucco is deserving of particular attention, for it was the interior lining of the bath, and must have had the quality of resisting the action of hot water to a very considerable degree, if not entirely. It seems to be composed, like concrete, of lime and pulverised brick, the facing being very fine in its grain, and in both the baths had been coloured red. It is not improbable that this colour may have been mixed with wax, or some fatty substance, and so have mechanically filled up the pores of the stucco, and also resisted the action of water by its greasiness, and if no soap or alkaline substance were used would last some time, and could easily be renewed. The wall of the opposite end of the room seems also to have been warmed with flues, as a square flue-tile still remains in the corner (*h*), and the plaster of the wall still bears the impress of the tile which had been fixed against it.

From the caldarium a narrow doorway, only 18 inches wide, opens into a small oblong apartment (*H*), only 8 feet long by 4 feet wide, which has no other outlet, and which I think may have been the Sudatorium, a chamber which was raised by a dry heat to a high temperature, which, from its close proximity to the mouth of the furnace, must have been the case here. The floor, now destroyed, under which was a hypocaust, if it were of the same thickness as the rest, must have been about 6 inches higher than that of the caldarium, from the pillars of the hypocaust being so much taller than those under the other rooms, in which case this room must have been entered by a step, but as the sill of the doorway is destroyed there is nothing to indicate its real level. If it were on the same level as its neighbour its substance must have been much thinner, and the room would sooner have reached its high temperature.

In a small area, inclosed by two walls (K), on the outside of this chamber was situated the *Præfurnium* (I), or mouth of the furnace, which heated the hypocausts of all these apartments. What now remains of it is a narrow channel, between two masses of wall 3 feet high (*i*). This was probably covered over, and the two blocks of stone (*k*) which still remain show that there had been some more buildings, and it is possible that there may have been some arrangement here for heating water. This channel, though only 18 inches wide where it passes through the wall at *l*, widens to nearly 3 feet at its mouth, the sides having to all appearance been burnt away by long-continued fire. Wood ashes and slag, or indurated clinkers, formed by the partial fusion of stones and earthy matters that may have got into the fire, which must have burnt fiercely, were found here.

We will now trace the flues and examine the mode of heating these apartments. The smoke and heated air from the *præfurnium* passed through an arched aperture in the wall at *l* into the hypocaust beneath the *sudatorium*; two dwarf walls (*m m*) which supported the floor above directed its main course into the hypocaust of the *caldarium*. In these walls, however, are lateral openings (at *n n*), through which currents passed into the small side chambers (*o o*), and thence through three other apertures also into the hypocaust of the *caldarium*. The pillars of the hypocausts were formed of roughly-squared pieces of sandstone, about nine inches square, and about two feet high,—those, however, under the *sudatorium* being taller, and those beneath the bath somewhat shorter. The roofs, when found, were of large square tiles, or slabs of paving-stone; and the floors above them were of concrete, 14 inches thick; they must therefore have required a long time to heat through, but once warm would long retain the heat.

The heated currents having entered the hypocaust of the *caldarium*, passed underneath the bath and ascended through the upright flues in the wall at the end and side, as also by those at the other end of the chamber. As the upper part of these vertical flues are destroyed, we know not how they terminated, but from the proximity to the *præfurnium* the heat must have been great; and that the fire, being of wood, was strong, and the draught rapid, would appear from several small pieces of charred sticks having been found in many of the vertical flues. From this arrangement it seems very probable that the bath itself was the actual vessel in which the water was heated, and in fact always kept hot. These particulars are curious and interesting, for I am not aware that any similar arrangements have been observed or recorded.

Four apertures (marked *q*) convey the heated currents from the hypocaust of

the caldarium into that of the tepidarium, which, having performed their office there, would pass through the single opening at *r*, under the apodyterium. No traces of vertical flues were found in these chambers, and their temperature was of course more moderate, being further removed from the source of heat. We have here four chambers of four different gradations of temperature heated by one furnace, by what I must consider a very ingenious, though a simple contrivance; and I think it shows that the Romans had made some progress in that art of warming their domestic buildings.

In the constructions of these flues no arches have been used, the apertures through the walls, except the first, being all covered by a series of horizontal overlapping stones, forming a pseudo arch, till at last one stone crowns the opening. There seems to me to be some practical science in this arrangement. A single stone might have cracked with the heat; but these overlapping stones would allow of expansion and contraction, and thus no displacement or fracture would occur. A problem to be solved is where the supply of water for the baths was procured, and how it was introduced. The brook is distant, and is dry in summer, and the village is now only supplied from wells, and that we must conclude was the source from which the Romans procured it. To have carried the quantity of water required for the baths through the chambers by hand would have been very inconvenient, and it is possible that there may have been some contrivance in the portions of the walls now destroyed for its introduction from the outside.

To clear this building entirely, and preserve it open, is in its present position impossible: I have, therefore, endeavoured to obtain from it all the information I could. With that view I caused to be made the accurate model now exhibited, which will be deposited and kept in the Museum at Caerleon; and with the model, plan, and sections, a faithful record of it will be preserved. Directions have been given for filling it in carefully, so as not to injure or destroy what is curious, and thus to preserve its existence for the gratification and information of future Antiquaries, should any desire to re-examine these curious remains.

XXXVII. *The Old Tapestry in St. Mary's Hall at Coventry.*
By GEORGE SCHARF, Jun. Esq. F.S.A.

Read February 21, 1856.

I BEG to call attention to a very interesting monument still preserved at Coventry. It consists of a large piece of Tapestry, 30 feet long by 10 feet high, wrought at the close of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, and affording a singularly perfect example of the arts of design and weaving at that period. I am not aware that we possess many examples of tapestry before the sixteenth century; but specimens after the establishment of a manufactory at Mortlake, under Sir Francis Crane,^a seem to have become very numerous, chiefly, however, of Scripture-historical and allegorical compositions. The greater part of these are of the French school; although, in accordance with the wish of King Charles I., several sets of tapestries from Raphael's Cartoons, which are now at Hampton Court, were executed at that manufactory.

Before the seventeenth century, most of the tapestry used in England seems to have been Flemish, and much was wrought at *Arras*; hence the name with which we are so familiar in Shakspeare and most of the writers of the Elizabethan age, and the designation *Arazzi* in Italy. The devices of these tapestries were generally allegories combining love and chivalry; and of this class a very fine series is preserved at Hampton Court Palace, in the withdrawing room that leads out of Wolsey's Great Hall. The names of the personages are written in Latin above them; but the other legends, in white letters upon red, are in French. The costumes, however, are perfectly German. Many of the subjects are repetitions, so that they may possibly have all come from a manufactory in this country.

The celebrated tapestries of Nancy, now in Paris, were also allegorical, and are highly important for their art, costume, and historical associations.

The rarest class of subjects in this department of art is the strictly historical; and I am sure one instance of this kind connected with our own country, although not in England, will occur to the minds of all present—I mean that of the famous

^a The manufactory at Mortlake in Surrey was erected under James I. by Sir Francis Crane. Francis Cleyn of Rostock, a painter who had studied in Rome, was appointed by Charles I. to superintend the manufacture of hangings from Raphael's Cartoons, of which he had become possessed.—*Passavant's Life of Raphael*, vol. ii. pp. 252 and 275.

Bayeux Tapestry, wrought by Queen Matilda and her ladies to chronicle the Norman conquest of this country. It is still preserved at Bayeux, and was formerly employed to decorate the cathedral of that town on grand occasions. During the period of the French Revolution, it was carried about from town to town, and displayed as a means of exciting the people to the invasion of England. For a minute account of that valuable monument, and the historic information which it affords, I need only refer you to the memoir contributed by Dr. Bruce upon the Bayeux Tapestry, at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, and the beautiful volume which he has produced very recently.

The workmanship of the Bayeux Tapestry is particularly rude, and in that respect contrasts strikingly with the fabric of the tapestries at Hampton Court and in St. Mary's Hall at Coventry. Indeed, so rude is the production of Queen Matilda and her maidens, that it can only be compared to a little girl's sampler; and I believe few ladies would now award to it the unqualified designation of embroidery.

Still, it is one of our most important chronicles; and especially valuable from having the names of the individuals written against them; it is therefore historical. The subject of each compartment, also, is frequently inscribed on the border, in Latin.

The Tapestry at Coventry is an important specimen of art; and may be called historical, inasmuch as it represents a King and his court, every figure being undoubtedly a portrait, arranged in the same manner as Edward III. and his court in the old chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster. But, unfortunately, there is no writing to help identification, and therefore, in the absence of records, our explanation remains conjectural. For this reason I submit it to your notice, first, as a work of art—and so far of certain interest—and, secondly, as a problem, inviting your remarks and consideration upon the subject represented.

The ancient city of Coventry (the scene of Lady Godiva's celebrated exploit, and the story of Peeping Tom,) has always been distinguished for its textile productions. It was conspicuous during the Wars of the Roses for its steady adherence to the house of Lancaster, and seems to have been as much the favourite of Henry VI. as the venerable city of Shrewsbury appears to have afterwards become with Edward IV.

The guilds of Coventry were anciently much celebrated. They were four in number, not connected with particular trades, but partaking of the nature of the modern benefit societies. The names of the guilds were of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John, and St. Katharine.

They were afterwards united, and the more recent form of oath is preserved by Dugdale as follows :

“Ye shall be good and true to the Master of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, our Lady, St. John, and St. Katharine, and to all the brothers and sisters thereof.”

They assembled in a spacious hall to the south of St. Michael's church, called St. Mary's Hall, which is mentioned by name about the end of the reign of Edward III.

The present hall was commenced in 1394 and finished in 1414. In the year 1580 the inside was new painted and beautified.

It is remarkable that, though the constant designation of the united guilds was the *Trinity* guild, yet this hall has uniformly maintained its original appellation of St. Mary's Hall.

The hall, really an architectural study, has also a magnificent roof, with ten admirably carved figures of angels playing musical instruments. The inevitable darkness of the apartment is rendered still greater by a quantity of stained glass, of the deepest possible hues, displaying a very curious arrangement.

At Shrewsbury I had occasion to observe the filling-up of spaces of glass with paintings made to imitate a brick wall. At Coventry I found the prevailing pattern for filling up odd—and frequently very large—spaces to be a kind of patchwork of bright flat colours, not combined with the taste of old patchwork quilts, still seen in our country villages, but put together *anyhow*. Nor does this singular device possess the irregularity and variety of fragments of glass in a kaleidoscope : the Coventry pattern is made up, like the ancient polygonal walls, of odd-shaped pieces of plain, flat, stained glass.

Such gewgaws, it is but justice to the present corporation to say, were all perpetrated a long time back, when the side windows were filled with glass, under name of restoration, by Pemberton of Birmingham. At that time the fine old glass was taken out, on account of its ruined condition, and replaced with modern, wretchedly-executed, versions of the originals, partly copied from Dugdale, and inserted as substitutes. In refitting the windows the former arrangement of subjects does not seem to have been implicitly observed.

At the present time I believe a very earnest spirit of respect for the antiquities of the venerable city, and a desire to preserve in the best possible manner these vestiges of the olden time, prevail in the corporation of the city of Coventry, and that Mr. Alderman Eld is an especial promoter of these good feelings. Shrewsbury is a most venerable town, retaining many features of the sixteenth and

seventeenth century, but there is nothing so complete, so well kept, so unspoilt, as Ford's Almshouses and Bablake Schools at Coventry.

As a lover of the picturesque I regret to say that my sketchbooks, since 1850, contain records of many timber houses at Coventry that have since exchanged the gable front of wood and plaster for the rectangular brick and mortar face, brilliantly heightened with red and white. But these changes, although adding space to the inhabitants within, and externally indicative of manufacturing prosperity, cannot be observed without regret, and it is to be wondered at that the photographer has not hitherto set up the three legs and black veil in a city that would afford better subjects for his operations than any other within our shores.

St. Mary's Hall is a large square apartment, with a great window at the upper (north) end, towards the church. This window is, however, of a very remarkable proportion, being unusually short compared with the length and the curve of the arch of its upper part. By this means a large space of wall is left clear beneath it. On the outside it was ornamented by six niches and statues, and this space internally was filled exactly by the Tapestry I propose to describe to you. The architectural framework in the Tapestry so exactly corresponds with the mullions of the window above, that I fancy this to be an additional proof that it must have been wrought for the place. The local guilds, also, we shall see, are typified in the figures of certain Saints introduced, and it is the more to be regretted under these circumstances that documentary evidence should still be wanting of its origin.

The only entries in the guild accounts that can be referred to the Tapestry, are the two following; and for these I am indebted to Mr. Alderman Eld, of Coventry:—

1519. Item to two men, that take upon them to mend the cloth of arras, by advice of Mr. Mayor and his brethren . . . 16 shillings and 8 pence.

1605. Charge in the city accounts of 4*s.* 6*d.* for 6 ells of linen cloth to line the cloth of arras at S^t Mary's Hall.

I believe that these are all the notices that can be found relating to the history of the Tapestry, and beyond this we must depend upon internal evidence. The drawing that I have the honour of submitting to you is still in progress, and is the result of repeated visits to Coventry. It was begun with a desire to secure some careful record of so curious and frail a monument. The hall in which it hangs is freely open to the public, and is occasionally let out for the exhibition of various shows and performances. On my first visit to Coventry, six years ago, I

was horrified to see a phantasmagoria and fireworks on a small scale played off in front of this very hanging tapestry. A single spark would have destroyed the whole relic, for it is little better than tinder. I have, however, begged the present authorities to have it taken down and relined, and to have it in some way strained to prevent the lodgment of dust, and to ensure its better preservation. The central upper part was removed in Puritan times, and a figure of Justice, in a very different style, inserted instead; that portion in my drawing still remains uncoloured. The corners and some parts of the borders have also been pieced with other tapestry; and it is the more to be regretted, as I discovered, only on my last visit, that at each angle had been originally a small scroll with writing on it. The upper right-hand corner is the only one remaining perfect. The upper left-hand one is entirely wanting.

In the centre, over the more recent figure of Justice, still remains a Hebrew inscription, of which I have provided a transcript on a larger scale.

The writing on the books before the King and Queen, I had hoped would have been sufficiently legible, but from the angularity of the letters, caused perhaps by the working of the loom on so small a scale, there seems little chance of decipherment. The manufacture, and the peculiar mode of reducing the various shades of the draperies by perfectly upright lines, is identical with the specimens already referred to at Hampton Court. My friend Dr. Waagen, when last in England, was not able to visit Coventry; but he studied my drawing very carefully, and pronounced the original to be of Flemish workmanship, and relating to a German Emperor. The crown on the *prie-dieu*, before the principal male figure, he considered to be the imperial crown; but he was not aware of some minute circumstances that I discovered afterwards. In the border above and below, at the four points where the upright divisions continue the line of the mullions of the great window, is a large red rose, heraldically designed; and, in that respect, utterly at variance with the rest of the flowers in the border. Here we have a Lancastrian sign; but the costume and style of art are so evidently of a period subsequent to the marriage of Henry VII. and union of the houses of York and Lancaster, that it is difficult to account for the singleness of colour in the rose, which in the time of Henry VII. would have been red and white, as we see at Windsor, Cambridge, and Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster. That the rose so heraldically drawn is not intended to connect itself with the rest of the border, has further proof in the introduction of a small rose in one spandril only, and that immediately over the crown of the principal figure. It has been an entirely red rose, thus favouring the ancient tradition that, although executed in

later times, it commemorates the court of the city's especial benefactor, King Henry VI. Some persons have supposed from the costume that Henry VII. is the monarch so represented; and, indeed, the Queen and her costume closely resemble Elizabeth of York on the tomb in Westminster Abbey; but then the colour of the rose rises in contradiction. Others have suggested, from the fact that the King wears a bonnet and the crown lies by his side, that it represents Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VIII. and his wife Katharine of Arragon. They were married in 1501; but the figure in question, although beardless, is far from that of a youth. King Henry VI. is always represented beardless; Edward IV. I believe also. Moreover, there are no signs of the Prince of Wales, nor occurrence of the pomegranate, which is so characteristic a symbol of Aragon. The tree beside her can scarcely be so interpreted. The beardless Cardinal, designated Cardinal Beaufort, has milder features than are seen in his effigy in Winchester cathedral; but his prominent place, immediately next to the King, as one of the family, and not in an ecclesiastic capacity, tends in no small degree to strengthen the identity. The figure standing between the King and Cardinal is named the Good Duke Humphrey, and the lady nearest to the Queen the Duchess of Buckingham; these personages, I need hardly say, have no other claim beyond tradition for the appellation.^a

^a Mr. Blaauw has kindly called my attention to an instance of portraiture in hangings in the Will of Sir David Owen, published in the Sussex Collections, where mention is made of five pieces of hanging with imagery of Henry V., Henry VI., and his brothers:—

EXTRACT from the WILL of SIR DAVID OWEN. (From Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. vii.)

"A counterpoynthe of verder with a great lyone in the middes of golde and silke; a trussing bedde of black velvet and russett satin imbrowdered with wolfes and swaloes, wyth O and N of golde, with diverse other flowers inbrowdered, with a tester and curtens to the same; an other tressyng bedde of blak damaske and russett satin with a tester, curtens, and valaunce to the same; *fyve peceys of arrays made with imagery of King Henry Vth, Henry VIth, the Duke of Clarence, the Duke of Bedford, the Duke of Gloucester, with diverse other great men*; a great tester of a bedde with a selar to the same of arrays; with haffe the stuffe of householde, that is to say, pottes, pannes, disshes, spetes, cawdeyernes, cofers, and of all other thynges; a dossene of kyne, tenne great oxene for her wayne; alle which parselles afforlymyted I geve and bequethe to my wiffe to be lovyng unto my children and hers, and upon that condicōn that she lyff soole without mariage, and if she doe marye all my forsaid goodes to her before bequethed to be and remayne to my children betwixt her and me begoten. Item, I geve to my sonne Jasper Owen and to theires males of his body lawfully begoten all my landes and tenementes in the cytie of Coventrie, and in Watford, Frethynghstone, and Shotlanger, in the countie of Northampton, to the said Jasper and to theires males of his body lawfully begotten; and for lake," &c. &c.

Note.—Thomas Duke of Clarence, who was killed at Baugy in 1421; John Duke of Bedford, the Regent, who died in 1435; and Humphrey the good Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1446, were the second, third,

The shape of the crown should not escape observation ; it is arched, and ornamented with balls, crosses, and fleurs-de-lis. The four arches are decorated with architectural crockets, and support a ball and cross not larger than those upon the lower circlet. The arched crown is seen in our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, and the seals of Edward the Confessor and our first Norman kings, but it does not appear on any of the Plantagenet monarchs until Henry VI., and then only, I believe, on painted glass. It does not appear, I think, on our coins till the reign of Henry VII. The arch of the crown in the Coventry Tapestry is, however, very peculiar ; it consists of a double curve like an ogee, and I only know one other example, which is to be found in the painted window of St. George's Chapel at Windsor, representing Edward IV. and V. although dating of the time of Henry VII.^a

The arches of the *imperial* crown were not, I believe, arranged, like ours, so as to intersect and form a cross ; nor do I remember that the fleur-de-lis was ever a part of its decoration.

The crown of Charlemagne, at Vienna, has merely a single arch across the circlet.

The crown of the Queen is in fact nothing more than a coronet decorated entirely with fleurs-de-lis, and smaller trefoils like the shamrock between them. A short veil hangs down at the back of her head, and, with the exception of the ermine lining to her sleeves, her dress differs little from that of her ladies.

The central compartment between the two groups already referred to pertains especially to the glorification of the Virgin Mary, to whom the hall itself was dedicated ; and the treatment of the subject is somewhat remarkable.

The Virgin, a full-length figure, stands with her hands joined in prayer. She wears a richly embroidered dress, like that of the Queen, displaying the well-known pine-apple pattern which became so prevalent in the early part of the sixteenth century. Over this extends a full blue mantle, fastened on the breast with a band and two clasps. Her hair is peculiarly long and dishevelled, such as would be more becoming to St. Mary Magdalene, and is never appropriated to the Virgin except by the older masters of Cologne, or Jan van Eyck and his

and fourth sons of Henry IV., and the arras may probably have been the property of the Queen, widow of Henry V. and so passed to her second husband, the testator's father. The curious arras now in the Guild Hall of Coventry, apparently of the later date of 1493, represents Henry VI. and the Duke of Gloucester. The bequests here remind us of Gremio's boast of his wealth in *Taming the Shrew*, II. I.

" Thy hangings all of Tyrian tapestry,
In Cypress chests my arras counterpoint,
Valance of Venice gold in needle-work."

^a See Carter.

scholars. It certainly never appears so in Italian art. The North Italian masters displayed it in full profusion, but not in the dishevelled condition adopted by the Germans.

The feet of the Virgin rest on the shoulders of an angel, who holds the crescent moon. Four angels in the air are also in the act of supporting the figure of the Virgin, and on either side six of the Apostles kneel, with hands placed in various attitudes of prayer. The drapery of these saints is remarkably well arranged, and, by the largeness of the folds, evinces an already advanced period of art.

One of the Apostles in brown mantle is singularly like a figure in Masaccio's fresco of the Tribute Money, at Florence. The flowers beneath the Virgin are not lilies, but small red flowers with long stalks. The angels have no nimbus, and are clothed in the long loose dress that first appeared in the fifteenth century. Their hair is long and divided in the centre, and not cut square as in Edward the Fourth's time. The figure of the Virgin is encircled with clouds which are bluish green; the space inclosed by them is red.

The larger compartments above, to the right and left, are occupied with groups of patron saints, the male on one side, and female on the other. The latter may be named in the following order, beginning from the centre over the Queen: St. Katharine, with the sword and wheel; St. Barbara, holding the book and palm-branch (the tower appears between them); St. Dorothy, with a basket of roses; St. Mary Magdalene, the only saint without a nimbus, holding the ointment vase; St. Margaret with the dragon; St. Agnes, with the lamb and palm-branch; St. Gertrude of Nivelles, in monastic habit, with a crozier and three white mice*; St. Anne, with book and staff; and, finally, St. Apollonia, with a book, holding a tooth in a pair of pincers.

The figure of St. Gertrude had by some been named St. Modwena, who was an Irish saint, but became especially venerated in the midland counties, as the king built for her the monastery of Polesworth, in Warwickshire, where she became the instructress of his daughter Edith.

The nimbus round the heads of the female saints it may be remarked is composed of a single ring, whilst that of the male saints on the opposite side is a double ring.

The names of the saints on the left hand compartment, beginning from the centre over the King, are, St. John the Baptist, in red mantle, covering the hair-

* For the identification of this saint I am indebted to the friendly aid of Mrs. Jameson, who has also told me of an instance where the saint is represented in a MS. illumination with the three mice running playfully up her crozier.

shirt, holding a book with the kneeling lamb with cross and banner on it; St. Matthias (or St. Jude, or St. Thomas) holding a lance; St. Paul with a sword; St. Adrian, in armour and cloak, standing on a lion, and holding a sword and anvil; St. Peter with a key; St. George holding a banner with red cross on it; St. Andrew resting on his transverse cross; St. Bartholomew with a short knife, or dagger; St. Simon with his saw; St. Thaddeus with a halbert.* This saint is the only one in the whole series with a nimbus in the form of a solid circular plate seen in perspective. The heads of two other saints appear behind, without any distinctive attribute or especial character of countenance. One female head also appears behind the group on the other side.

What remains of the central upper compartment uncovered by the figure of Justice is a group of eight angels; four of them holding the instruments of the passion, namely, the crown of thorns, the spear and sponge and pincers, the pillar and whips, the cross and three nails. The remaining four above in the clouds are in attitudes of adoration. Behind the figure of Justice, judging from what now remains of a handsome throne and part of a richly embroidered mantle, may have been a seated figure of Christ in full robes, a subject often painted at this period.

Many suggest that it was a personification of the Holy Trinity; whatever it may have been, it certainly was something sufficiently offensive in representation to the zealots to induce them to take the trouble to substitute another subject with so much care. Had it been a representation of the Trinity, with the first person holding a crucifix, I do not think we should have had the Angels, with the instruments of the passion, but rather the four emblems of the Evangelists, as on the canopy of the tomb of the Black Prince at Canterbury, and various MS. illuminations.

The principal guilds of the city were represented, as we have seen, in the prominent figures of St. John, St. Katharine, and the Virgin Mary.

The architectural framework that divides the whole into six compartments is peculiar; it has very much of the character that we at present designate German. The pattern of the diaper behind the figures is remarkably elegant and well distributed. The armour, as seen on the figures of St. George and St. Adrian, marks a late period in the reign of Henry VII., if not actually belonging to that of his son and successor. The broad toes in these instances formed a violent contrast to the sharp points of Richard II.'s period. The drawing of the extremities is in many instances very faulty; St. John the Baptist has only four toes to each foot.

* See Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, p. 105.

Some of the heads, however, are remarkably fine, with much individuality of character, especially in the lower series. They were doubtless all portraits, and seem to have originally been very well coloured. At present the complexion of two or three only is well preserved, but in several instances the light of the eyeballs has turned white, which gives the face a very peculiar appearance, inasmuch as the ball now looks lighter than what we call the white of the eye.

It may be interesting to note that the fabric of the tapestry is loom, and not needlework. The pattern appears on both sides.* The loops or stitches are arranged horizontally, but the tints and shading off of the drapery are disposed in vertical lines, the darker shades widening downwards.

This tapestry, owing to long neglect, has become sadly distorted and coated with dust, but fortunately it is neither moth-eaten nor injured by damp; for the latter advantage it is indebted to the fine high and dry situation of the hall itself.

The room, however, is unfortunately so dark that it is generally impossible to discern even the mere subject of the tapestry. The best time I have found to be in the morning, whilst the sun is in the south-east, when all the details and colours can be made out most completely. I hope that by calling your attention to this interesting monument I may induce a few of my hearers to visit Coventry, and to examine the relic for themselves. At present, however, my earnest wish is to obtain remarks and information that shall tend to place the identification of the portraits upon a somewhat more certain and satisfactory foundation.

I have only of late become aware that Mr. John Carter made a careful drawing of this tapestry, which is in the possession of Mr. Nichols, of Parliament Street; but I have never seen it. Had I been aware that the hand of so distinguished an artist and antiquary as Mr. Carter had been exercised in its behalf I should not have devoted so much time and anxiety to the subject. My sole motive has been to rescue from oblivion and afford some record of this truly national monument.

I have since received the favour of a communication from Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., relating to the subject of my investigations, which, from its importance, I desire to transcribe verbatim.

* This I made an especial point of verifying since the reading of my paper, when Mr. Ashpitel laid much importance on this question of the fabric. I had before only judged by the appearance of the border at the edges. A hole worn in the stuff nearer the centre, has since enabled me more to determine the question.

Read March 13, 1856.

25, Parliament Street, February 29, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

Being aware that many interesting extracts from the Municipal Records of Coventry, and other collections relative to the history of that city, had been left in manuscript by the late Mr. William Reader, I have requested his son to search them, with the view of discovering any particulars that might throw light upon the history of the Tapestry which has recently engaged so much of your attention. I beg to communicate the result, chiefly consisting of facts in the history of the city, which lend a certain amount of historical illustration to the subject, and, though they do not supply direct information regarding the Tapestry, will assist in forming the most probable conjectures respecting it.

And first with regard to the guilds in which the citizens were associated. The prior and monks of Coventry received licence from King Henry III. to establish a merchants' guild in the year 1267. But in the middle of the fourteenth century this guild expanded into several branches or distinct companies. The guild under the patronage of the Virgin was founded in 1340, that of St. John the Baptist in 1342, that of St. Katharine in 1343, that of Corpus Christi in 1348, and that of the Holy Trinity in 1364. During the same period the city at large received a new constitution, and the first mayor was appointed in 1345. At the close of the same century four of the five guilds coalesced into one; and during the fifteenth century there were but two, that of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Mary, St. John, and St. Katharine, and that of Corpus Christi. These two were united in 1534. When the four guilds coalesced they resolved to build a new hall on the site of that occupied by the guild of St. Mary. This, therefore, was pulled down, excepting its porch and exterior kitchens, and the present magnificent structure was completed in 1414. An intimate association was always maintained between the general corporation of the city and the guilds, and the mayor of the city and the master of the guilds were accustomed on state occasions to sit together in a large and magnificently carved double chair. Of the existing half of this chair engravings have been published in John Carter's *Architecture and Painting*, and in Mr. Henry Shaw's *Ancient Furniture*. Its right-hand side is richly carved, but the left side is plain and rough, the corresponding half having doubtless been carved on the left side. In the same chair it is traditionally related that King Henry VI. and his Queen were seated when they were admitted brother and sister of the guild in the year 1450.

Henry VI. is recorded to have been a frequent visitor of Coventry. He was there in 1436, when he kept Christmas at Kenilworth Castle. In the year 1450 he was lodged in the priory at Coventry, and on St. Michael's day came thence to attend high mass in St. Michael's church, the Bishop of Winchester officiating. On this occasion he gave the church a gown of gold tissue, and in that gown he has been supposed to be represented in the Tapestry. Again, on Whitsunday, 1456, King Henry and Queen Margaret, wearing their crowns, walked in procession from Coventry priory into St. Michael's churchyard, round by the steeple, and thence to the cathedral gate which opened into Trinity churchyard. The Bishop of Hereford performed high mass in the cathedral. The prior and convent of Coventry, with the dean and members of the King's Chapel, were present. The Duke of Buckingham followed next the King on his right hand. The Lord Beaumont bore the King's train, the Earl of Stafford his cap of state, Sir John Tunstall his sword. The Queen's train was borne by the Duchess of Buckingham. She was also attended by the Lady Rivers, by the Lady Shrewsbury the elder, and the Lady Shrewsbury the younger.

So particular an account having been preserved of this visit of Henry VI. and of the names of the nobility who formed his retinue, it is not surprising to find that the two groupes on the Tapestry, representing royal personages and their attendants, have been supposed to commemorate it. Accordingly, I find in Mr. Reader's manuscript the principal male figures in the Tapestry are assigned to King Henry VI., the Duke of Gloucester, Cardinal Beaufort, and the Viscount Beaumont; and those on the ladies' side to Queen Margaret, the Duchess of Buckingham, &c.

But it appears that King Henry VII. and his Queen were also admitted as brother and sister of Trinity Guild, in the year 1499, and this date certainly agrees better with the fashion of the costume in the Tapestry. This opinion I find is adopted in the recently published Number of the *Archæological Journal*.^a

In this case, supposing the crowned figures are Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, the Cardinal may have been intended for Cardinal Morton.

I think so far as this we may be assured, that the intention was to represent certain courtly personages who had condescended to enter the fraternity of the guild at Coventry, but how far individual portraiture was attempted it is not easy to determine. Possibly the design was rather to personify the whole series of distinguished members that had been enrolled in the guild than those which were living at any one time, after the plan which was pursued in the prints of

^a December, 1855, p. 417.

the Oxford Almanacs at the beginning of the last century. In that case, however, the artist might have introduced more than one king, for the guild of Coventry had enrolled among its members all the Lancastrian monarchs—Henry IV., Henry V. when still Prince of Wales, Henry VI., and Henry VII., as well as Prince Edward, afterwards King Edward V. who was admitted at the age of seven, in the year 1478. Among the other royal and noble members were John of Ghent, King of Castile and Leon, and his wife Constance; John Duke of Bedford; Henry Earl of Warwick, and his wife Cecily; Sir John Beauchamp, &c. &c. but no perfect list appears to be preserved.

At the neighbouring town of Stratford-upon-Avon there also was a guild, which was honoured in like manner by the association of many persons of high rank, as will be found in Fisher's *Antiquities of Stratford-upon-Avon*. In 1477 the King's brother George Duke of Clarence and his wife Isabella, together with Edward Earl of Warwick their son, and Margaret their daughter, were received into the fraternity of the guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford-upon-Avon, and thereupon paid for their fine five marks.

Mr. Reader's manuscripts do not contain any other extracts from the city records at Coventry relative to the tapestry than the two which have already been supplied to you. The first in 1519:

“Item, to ij men that take upon them to mende the cloth of arras, by advice of Mr. Meir and his bredren, xxvj s. viij d.”

The second in 1605:

“Item, for vj ells of linen clothe, to line the cloth of arras at St. Mary hall, iiij s. vj d.”

With regard to the first of these entries it has been remarked that the year 1519 was an early date for the arras to require repair, supposing it to have been made after Henry VII. became a member of the guild in 1499. Still, we cannot tell to what amount of wear and rough usage it had then been subjected during a period of eighteen years or more, at a time when the hall was frequently thronged by busy multitudes; and the circumstance of no earlier entry of the kind having been found is perhaps in favour of our assigning its manufacture to a date as near the commencement of the sixteenth century as may be, in the absence of positive historical evidence.

It would have given me pleasure had the result of my inquiries elicited more direct and satisfactory information than the foregoing in illustration of the subject of your very beautiful drawing; but some of the particulars I have stated appear

to me to be deserving of attention, and, if you agree in that view, you will do me the favour to communicate them to the Society of Antiquaries.

I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS.

To George Scharf, Esq. F.S.A.

These notes on the guilds are especially interesting, and I learn with pleasure the existence of one guild, the Corpus Christi, that I did not know of before, and one which strongly favours my interpretation of the upper central compartment of the Tapestry in its original condition.

The Corpus Christi guild would naturally be personified by a seated figure of Christ, as in the central compartment of the chapter-house at Westminster, holding up the pierced hands. A scarlet robe, embroidered with gold borders, fastened by a gilt fibula on the centre of the breast. The wounds, also, in the side and feet clearly visible. The subject at Westminster was surrounded by angels holding the instruments of the Passion.

The most perfect development, it may be observed, of this representation occurs in the works of Raphael, especially the central figure of his celebrated fresco called the "Disputa," or Theology, in the Stanze of the Vatican; in the first fresco Raphael ever painted, still preserved in San Severo, at Perugia; and also in the principal figure of the design engraved by Marc Antonio, generally known as the "Five Saints."

The Corpus Christi guild was founded in Coventry a quarter of a century (twenty-six years) after the canonization of the great promoter of the festival, St. Thomas Aquinas. The guild of the Holy Trinity was not founded till twenty-one years later. That of St. Mary had been established before all. The founders of Corpus College at Cambridge were brethren of the guilds of Corpus Christi and of the Virgin Mary, and these two guilds were probably often united. With respect to the circumstance of payment for mending the Tapestry at so early a date after its manufacture, no importance can be attached to such a notice as an argument that it had long existed, as accidental injury might very easily occur to such frail materials.

The Tapestry appears singularly wanting in inscriptions or lettering, when compared with other known examples of the period; and it is remarkable that no armorial bearings, crests, or devices, are introduced. No shields are to be seen, and even the *prie-dieu* is left without heraldic blazonry.

I call to mind the celebrated altar-piece by King René of Anjou, at Aix,

where he is represented kneeling in like manner at a *prie-dieu*.^a He also wears a close cap on his head, whilst the crown is deposited beside the book before him. His queen, Isabella, the mother of Margaret of Anjou, as in the representation of her daughter at Coventry, wears the coronet on her head.

Another parallel will be found in the curious pictures at Hampton Court Palace,^b which were the wings of an altar-piece containing portraits of James IV. and Margaret of Scotland. In this, as in the René picture, armorial bearings are conspicuous.

In all, not omitting the royal portraits on the east wall of St. Stephen's Chapel, the King and attendants occupy the north or left-hand side, the Queen and females the south.

The names of the personages given in the procession of 1456 might be very serviceable towards naming the various characters. I cannot think that Henry VII. is the monarch represented. Being wrought at the conclusion of his reign, some of his family would at least be introduced, as in the east-wall paintings of St. Stephen's family. Three figures only of the royal party are in attitudes of prayer; none but the King, Queen, and Cardinal kneel. The rest stand round at respectful distance.

Before concluding, I beg to add two or three words upon the merits of this tapestry, in comparison with other known examples. I have gone through the magnificent works of Jubinal^c and Du Sommerard with the express object of finding either parallels or some peculiarities of style which might throw further light on the monument at Coventry.

To judge from these publications, there is a great similarity between the style, drawing, and treatment of the Coventry Tapestry and two pieces of Flemish Tapestry, of the close of the 15th century, now in the Louvre. They are given in full colours by Du Sommerard (*Album*, 3^{me} série, plates xxiv. and xxv. chap. 19). The shadows on the draperies are produced by the same vertical lines of colour as at Coventry—the head-dresses are in many cases perfectly identical; many

^a D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 166. *Œuvres du Roi René, avec une biographie*, par le Comte de Quatrebarbes, &c. Paris, 4to. 1849.

^b Formerly in Kensington Palace. J. D. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England*. Frankfurt, 1833, p. 49, where the picture is attributed to Hugo van der Goes. Waagen, *Treasures of Art*, Lond. 1854, vol. ii. p. 366, assigns it to Mabuse. The wings have been engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, and in John Pinkerton's *Iconographia Scotica*. 8vo. 1797. Compare also Mrs. Jameson's *Public Galleries*, vol. ii. p. 411; and Kugler's *Handbook of German Painting*, English edition, 1846, p. 80, note.

^c Jubinal, *Anciennes Tapisseries*, oblong folio. Paris, 1838. A superb coloured copy is in the Library of the British Museum.

of the countenances and mode of drawing the heads are precisely the same. The architectural framework also affords considerable resemblance. In the Louvre Tapestry the figures are more crowded and heaped one above the other, and a greater number are kneeling. The subjects are said to be Saul and David, and David and Abigail.

The "Tapisseries de Nancy," alluded to at the commencement of this paper (Du Sommerard, série 3^me, plate xxxv.; and Jubinal, plate i.), are of an earlier period; the men's head-dresses generally partake more of the turban with the hanging end, but some are very similar. The draperies are more formal, and wanting in pliant folds.

The "Tapisseries de Dijon" display all the peculiarities in costume of the reign of Henry VIII.

The most striking resemblance in all respects to the Coventry Tapestry appears to be in the "Tapisserie du Château d'Haroué," published in full colours by Jubinal. The subject is a hawking party, with a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen. It is considered by Jubinal as of the commencement of the sixteenth century, nearly coeval with that of Dijon and the Tournament Tapestry of Valenciennes, A.D. 1500. The Château d'Haroué in the département de la Meurthe, some leagues from Nancy, belonged to the Princes de Beauveau.

The little labels in the corners of the Coventry Tapestry, which I have already had occasion to notice, are very similar to the curved labels with the motto **PAX** that are strewn over the ground of one of the Tapestries of Beauvais (plate iv. of Jubinal). The architecture contained in the preceding plate of the same series displays a considerable amount of German characteristics, united with the flowing curved forms, denominated, I believe, flamboyant.

The contrasts of colour, yellow lights shaded with blue, and red shaded with a deeper tint of the same colour, are strikingly seen in the Hampton Court Tapestry mentioned at the beginning of this paper; but the Coventry specimen has suffered most in its colours from dirt and in the drawing of the features by ill-treatment and unequal straining. Some of the countenances have, by this means, become sadly distorted. I trust that these attempts to make a rare specimen of art better known may have the effect of contributing towards some means for securing its future preservation, and that it may be more generally recognised as one of our most curious national monuments of the middle ages.

GEORGE SCHARF, JUN.

XXXVIII.—*On Horse-trappings found at Westhall. In a Letter from HENRY HARROD, Esq., F.S.A., to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read May 3, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAD the honour of exhibiting, at a Meeting in May last, a collection of remarkable antiquities which had been shortly before found in Suffolk.

A farmer at Westhall (a small village about three miles north-east of Halesworth) was engaged in draining a field, called the "Millpost Field," carrying the trenches to a depth of between two and three feet from the surface, in a stiff clayey soil, and in the direction of a small watercourse which ran along the east side of the field. A space of about two acres in extent, in the lowest part of the field adjoining the watercourse, presented, when ploughed up, a much darker soil than the other parts of it; and in making his drains through this part of the field much burnt earth and fragments of pottery were thrown out of the trenches. Near the centre of the space, and about two feet from the surface, he met with a quantity of bronze rings and other fragments, which he gave to a Mr. Hylton, a Norfolk farmer, who communicated the discovery to me, and enabled me to exhibit them to the Society: and in order that every possible information might be obtained, I joined them, on the 2nd of May, and carefully went over the ground with the spade. All the bronze fragments had been gathered together, and my search added nothing to the collection.

Every part of the two acres I have mentioned presented, at the depth of eighteen inches to three feet, a soil blackened by the action of fire, much charcoal, and a great quantity of broken pottery, all of the commonest and plainest kind, and in great variety; but the ground had been so disturbed that no single urn could be found complete, each spadeful of earth containing a dozen fragments of a dozen different urns. A solitary fragment of a plain Samian patera was thrown out, but my search after the rest of it was fruitless. All, however, were indubitably of Roman-British manufacture.

The various bronze objects appear to have been contained in a bronze vessel, of which the bottom and part of the side remained, and over them the thin bronze

plate or cover, of which the fragments are figured on Plate XXXVIII. fig. 1. Upon this was placed a large flint stone. The thin bronze plate seems to be of a ruder workmanship than the other bronzes, and has, in its centre, a circular ornament with a figure of an animal rather difficult to identify.

Of the objects contained in the vessel, the Plates will give a better idea than any written description.

The two bronze plates, of which Plate XXXVII. figs. 1 and 2 show the front and back, are about an eighth of an inch thick, and have on one side an enameled pattern, much resembling that on a similar plate among the Polden Hill Antiquities now in the British Museum (figured in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XIV. Plate XVIII. fig. 3), and the back is furnished with projecting loops for a rein or strap, exactly like those on the Polden Hill specimen. A similar ornament, with a number of bronze rings, was found at Saham Toney, Norfolk, near the great Roman Camp at Ovington some years ago; they are now in the Norwich Museum, and are figured in the Appendix to the second volume of the *Journal* published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society. In addition to the dull red enamel, these plates are further ornamented with small circular pieces of coloured glass, and what appears to be white marble.

No doubt can exist that these plates and those of Polden Hill and Saham were all intended for a similar purpose.

The object (Plate XXXVII. fig. 3) has also its counterpart among the Polden Hill and Saham collections, although they all differ in their ornamentation. The Polden Hill ring had a series of knobs; the Saham one was flattened on the outer side, on which was an enameled pattern. In the Westhall specimen, the ring spreads out like a cockscomb, and has a very curious and graceful pattern in enamel on each side, the outer edge being milled. The purpose to which these rings were applied seems to be the same as that of the modern turret (as our saddlers term it), namely, for the passage of the reins over the back of the horse. All have about a fourth of their diameter left rough; and this part was probably embedded in the harness on the back or neck of the horse. The inner side of the Westhall example being a good deal worn, appears to confirm this idea.

The rings marked 4 and 5, Plate XXXVII., although of the same pattern as the large one, are evidently for a different part of the harness—instead of the rough, unfinished portion there is a flat bar. These, again, are like some of the Polden Hill and Saham rings; and also like some in the Stanwick Collection in the British Museum. Of the larger size (fig. 4), four were found at Westhall, and three of the smaller (fig. 5).

Together with these were six hollow bronze cylinders, about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length (Plate II. figs 2 and 3), three of them with the larger end open, and the other having a square aperture. The fourth has been a good deal injured, and contains a mass of iron; as has the fifth, which also has the square aperture at its smaller end blocked up with iron: and, to still further perplex the inquirer, the sixth—exactly like the others in every other respect—has not the square hole at all. There is a slight corrosion of the bronze—but clearly nothing more.

Some small pieces of bronze—one of which had been riveted over another—were among the miscellaneous fragments; a small blue glass bead was also with them, and a brass coin, said to be of Faustina, very much corroded.

I presume there can be little doubt that these objects are of the Roman-British period. There can be no doubt, however, about the next one (Plate XXXVIII. fig. 4)—a bronze lamp of undoubted Roman manufacture. Over the handle is a crescent cast with the lamp, and on each side loops for small chains, by which it could be suspended. In the Eighth Volume of the Journal of the British Archæological Association, I find four lamps of a similar pattern engraved. Two of these had been found in the City of London, one in Cannon Street, and the other in Princes Street, and one of them retained a link of the chain. The Author of the Memoir accompanying the engraving maintained that these lamps with crescents were sacred to Diana; and one he referred to in the Brandenburg Museum has a dedication to Artemis of Ephesus on the crescent. Were these lamps intended for sacred purposes or not, it should be observed that the crescent over the handle does wonderfully facilitate its steady carriage when taken up by the hand; and there is a small knob at each end of the crescent which protects the thumb from being scratched.

Three flint-stones of the kind found on the sea-coast some seven miles from Westhall were with these bronzes. Two had each of them one of their sides much rubbed down, and the other had both sides so treated—a work of very considerable labour.

Since I had the honour of exhibiting these interesting antiquities to the Society, they have been purchased for, and will be now found at, the British Museum.

HENRY HARROD.

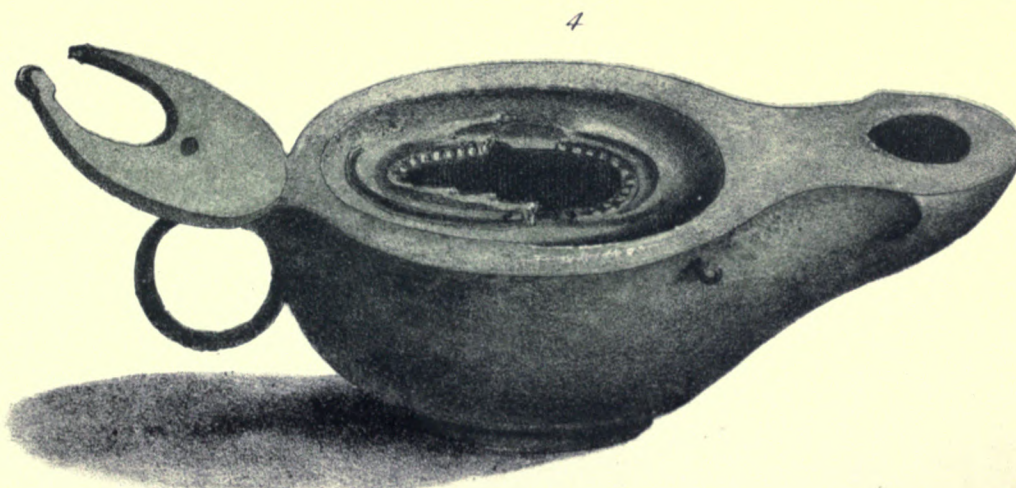
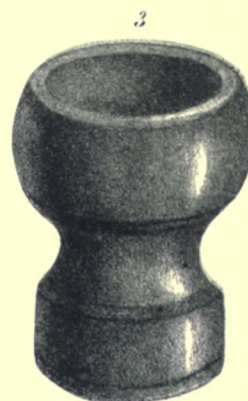
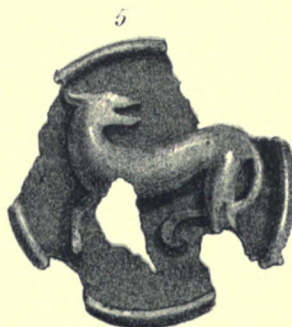
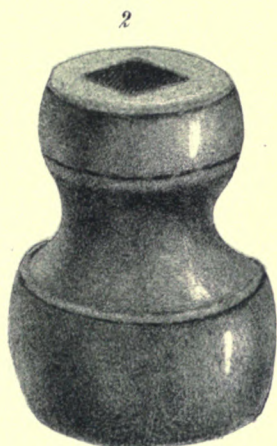
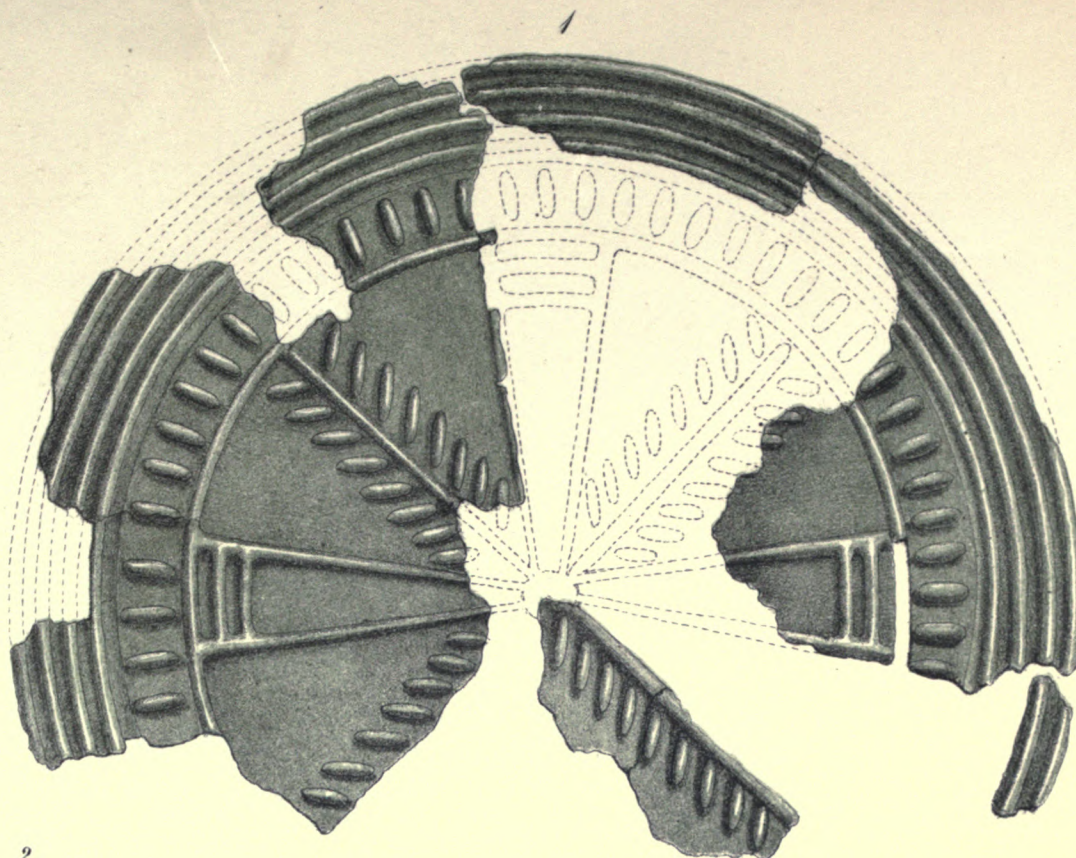
To J. Y. Akerman, Esq.



HORSE-TRAPPINGS
found at Westhall in Suffolk.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 23^d April 1856.

J. Basire Lith.



HORSE-TRAPPINGS AND OTHER OBJECTS
found at Westhall.

J. Bazez Lith.

Addenda to Mr. SCHARF'S Memoir on Paintings of the Last Judgment.

[*Insert in page 375.*]

SINCE reading this paper before the Society I have referred to Fosbroke's History of Gloucester, and find the mistake about the Italian language to have originated with Mr. Britton. In amplifying Fosbroke he misleads others. The original uses the word *Italian* merely to mark the nation of the painter. Fosbroke and Counsel are both in error where they describe the picture as joined in the middle like folded doors. The two labels also they have united into one. Respecting their opinions upon the architecture, it will be more interesting, I imagine, to have their opinions literally transcribed, and I therefore offer an extract from Fosbroke's account. Mr. George Counsel was a solicitor, and resided on College Green, Gloucester.

"The fact is, that it is *not* of *Grecian* architecture. It has *perforated battlements*; that mixture of Grecian and Gothic adopted in Italy, which has so lately been exhibited in the Archæologia, and originated in the revival of the arts during the Crusades by the Pisans trading to Greece, and bringing back columns and other monuments of ancient Greece. From a suspicion that it might be the offering of a Crusader at Edward's shrine, and be brought from the Holy Land, the author desired Mr. Counsel to examine whether it accorded with Dr. Clarke's description of these paintings, viz. yellow or golden ground upon sycamore wood. From Mr. Counsel's account, it appears that it was executed by an Italian *in England*, from the label being in the language of that country. Oil-painting was then scarcely known here, and foreigners were our leading artists in the fifteenth century, and long afterwards. 'The picture of the Last Judgment (says Mr. Counsel) in the whispering-gallery is not painted on canvass, or on a golden or yellow ground. It is in two separate parts, or folding-doors,* joined in the middle,

* So an ancient painting at Durham.

each part consisting of six oak boards from ten to twelve inches wide, seven feet long, and one inch thick. These boards are glued together and *dowled* (fastened to each other by plugs, like the head of a cask), to prevent warping. That part of the picture which represents the New Jerusalem has Grecian columns, supporting circular arches, and surmounted with perforated battlements (*i.e.* the style which obtains in the cathedral of Pisa, and other mediæval buildings of Italy). Some of the angels are there represented singing from a score, and others are playing on different instruments, particularly viols and lutes. At the entrance, which is through a circular arch, is stationed St. Peter, with a couple of keys in his hand. In the upper part of the picture our Saviour is represented in a scarlet mantle, embroidered with gold, sitting on a rainbow, with his feet resting on the globe of the earth, and having an olive-branch (query, palm branch) in his right hand, and a two-edged sword in his left. Underneath him are two angels blowing trumpets, to which is attached a label with the following inscription in text letters, ‘Aryse, ye deade, and come to judgement.’ ”^a

[*Insert in p. 385, after Trinity Church paragraph.*]

An ancient painting was discovered in 1819 in the church of St. Thomas at Salisbury. Christ, in the centre above, is seated on a rainbow, the feet resting on a smaller one below. The Twelve Apostles stand in a row beneath the Judge; angels with the emblems of the Passion stand around. The heavenly Jerusalem appears on both sides of the composition. There is no gate with the blessed entering. The dead rise from square tombs in a garden-like burying-ground. The right-hand side is devoted to the Inferno. A large pointed arch breaks through the composition.^b

The following interesting document relates to a painting that formerly existed in the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick:—

“*Agreement for PAINTING THE DOMES-DAYE on the west wall of the chapel.* A covenant (&c.) xij Feb. 28 Hen. 6, wherein John Brentwood, citizen and steynier of London, doth covenant to paint fine and curiously at Warwick, on the west wall of the new chapell there, the Dome of our Lord God Jesus, and all

^a The Rev. T. D. Fosbroke's, *Original History of the City of Gloucester, including the Papers of Ralph Bigland.* 1819. 4to, p. 250.

^b Engraving in Hatcher's *History of Salisbury*, in Sir R. C. Hoare's *History of Modern Wiltshire*, Lond. fol. 1843, p. 589.

manner of devises and imagery thereto belonging, of fair and sightly proportion, as the place shall serve for, with the finest colours, and fine gold; and the said Brentwood shall find all manner of stufte thereto at his charge; the said executors paying thereof xiiij li. vj s. viij d.”^a

[*Insert in p. 387.*]

I have recently visited Fairford for the express purpose of examining the painted glass in the church.

The composition of the west window is remarkably elaborate, and devoted exclusively to the Last Judgment; the central group of the lower lights very like that of the Dantzic altar-piece. The figures are remarkably small in proportion to the size of the composition. As an arrangement of colour, this Fairford window is perhaps one of the finest I have ever seen.

Christ sits upon a rainbow in the centre, with a bright red globe, encircled with zones, for a foot-stool. Around the figure of the Saviour is a bright yellow colour: the lily and the sword issuing from the cheeks. A broad circle of cherubim of intense red incloses the subject just described; and around this again appears a crowd of the blessed, disposed in such a manner as to recall the circle of the elect round the glory of the central figure in Michael Angelo's Sistine Last Judgment.

Around this again is a blue band, narrower than the red one, of seraphim; and beyond this also appear crowds of the heavenly host.

The forms of the figures are deficient, and each one seems intentionally separated from the rest.

Many parts of the window have been seriously misplaced.

The gate and steps of Paradise reach the bottom of the window on the left-hand side. The figure of St. Peter in a majestic crimson mantle is very fine; some of the angels with souls in the form of little children are very graceful and spirited; and one group in the air, to the right of St. Michael, repelling a demon and rescuing a soul, merits attention for the artistic vigour with which it is composed. The dead rising from their tombs, with the hood of the grave-clothes still on, have some affinity to the sculpture in Kingston church. Demons tormenting women form a prominent feature in the Inferno side of the composition. A woman carried off on a tormentor's back is only a repetition of the incidents in the Saxon MS. and the frescoes of Signorelli and Michael Angelo. But the female figures in a cart, dragged through flames, and a woman in a wheel-barrow, verge upon

^a Description of the Beauchamp Chapel, by J. G. Nichols, F.S.A. London, 4to. p. 30.

the ludicrous. The rich red and purple colour of the flames, with occasional touches of brown and green, remind me of the beautifully coloured window representing the Fall of Lucifer in the north side of the choir of King's College chapel at Cambridge. In the heading of the lights on each side of St. Michael, an angel holds a label, inscribed on the one "Misericordia," on the other "Judicium." The words certainly accord with the position of the lily and the sword, on the right and left of the judge.

The colours and draperies of several of the flying angels remind me of those in the upper lights of the chapel at Cambridge, especially in the window over the north porch at Cambridge.

There is a description of this west window by Thomas Hearne, in his edition of Roper's Life of Sir Thomas More, ed. Oxon. 1716, page 277; but it is not very accurate. The Saviour is described as sitting in a pillar of fire. Dives and Lazarus are also recognised. I have been thus far minute in describing the Fairford window, because it is in a part of the country not very generally visited.

[*Insert in page 390.*]

I find among the Tapisseries de l'Abbaye de la Chaise Dieu, published by Jubinal (plate xxxii.), a very clumsy and coarse representation of the Last Judgment.

Christ, clothed in a fluttering drapery, sits on a variegated rainbow. His feet dangle down without any support whatever. The rainbow extends *in front* of the Paradise and Inferno.

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